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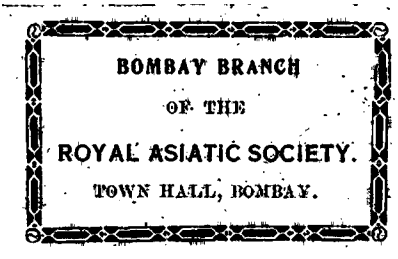

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The
MARCHES
of
ALEXANDER the GREAT,
from
MONSR. D'ANVILLE.
EUXINE SEA
CASPIAN SEA
SCYTHIA
MASSAGETÆ
THRACIA
Hellespont
Lesbos
Mysia
Lydia
Phrygia
Cappadocia
Paphlagonia
Halicarnassus
Rhodes
Cyprus
Sidon
Tyre
Samaria
Jerusalem
Nemphis
Thebes
Elephantes I.
LYBIA
ARABIA
ARABIA
SYRIA
Mesopotamia
ARENIA
ALBANIA
MEDIA
Cossaei
Babylon
Sicilia
Chaldæa
PERSIA
Persepolis
CARMANIA
GEDROSIA
Ichtyophagi
ORITÆ
Pasiris
Sambi
Nogdi
Indus
Palmis
Oxus
Bactra
Bactra or Zariaspa
Nasaca
Xenippa
Bazaria
Sogdiana
Sacæ
Dahæ
Parthi
Margiana
Hercania
Aria
Paropamisus
Arachosia
Evergetæ
Indian Mountains
Mallii
Oxidrae
Cathari
Sambi
Nogdi
Palmis
Ecbatana
Cyrus
Tigris
Euphrates
Stadia made use of by Alexander Marches
Leagues of 2000 Geometrical Feet or 2000 Toises

CRITICAL INQUIRY

INTO THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

BY THE

ANCIENT HISTORIANS:

From the FRENCH of the BARON DE ST. CROIX:

30936 a

WITH

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS,

By Sir RICHARD CLAYTON, Bart.

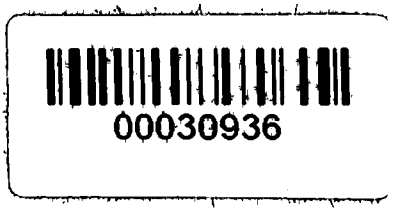
Illuſtrated with a Map of the Marches of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

BATH:

PRINTED BY S. HAZARD:

FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW, LONDON.

M.DCC.XCIII.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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF DERBY,

LORD LIEUTENANT and CUSTOS ROTULORUM

OF THE

COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.

MY LORD,

FROM the Friendſhip, with which you have long honoured me, I have no heſitation to whom I ſhould addreſs the following Work.—Permit me then to place your name at the head of it, and at the ſame time to offer it to your Lordſhip, as a trifling teſtimony of the attachment and regard of

YOUR FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

RICHARD CLAYTON.

Sept. 12th 1793.

PREFACE.

THE Critical Examination of the Ancient Hiſtorians of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, which now appears in an Engliſh Dreſs, was firſt uſhered into the World at the French Academy "des Inſcriptions et Belles Lettres," where it obtained the Premium from that learned Society in the Year 1772. After an interval of three years the Author publiſhed it with additions and improvements; but the Impreſſion was rapidly bought up, and there is not at preſent a ſingle copy to be procured without difficulty upon the Continent. I have reaſon to believe that a knowledge of it has been hitherto confined within a narrow circle in GREAT BRITAIN, and that when it has croſſed the Channel, it hath been to paſs only into the hands of a few perſons of Taſte and Erudition.——Of the Original the French Academy

demy hath expreſſed its unqualified approbation: of the Tranſlation it becomes not me to ſpeak. In juſtice however to the Baron de St. Croix, I ought to acknowledge that ſome alterations have been made, and for theſe I am reſponſible. Some redundancies I may have alſo pruned off, but I flatter myſelf the full vigour of the leading Shoot hath been preſerved. If I have deviated from the Original, in the introduction of the quotations from the different Writers, that have been cited, I may not poſſibly have occaſion for much apology. The learned Reader will readily forgive a number of his old Acquaintances being again brought immediately before his eye, and when Authors are referred to, they are undoubtedly the beſt Comment on themſelves. On turning indeed to the Greek Writers, I was not particularly ſatisfied with the French Verſions of the paſſages in queſtion. Some of them were looſe; in others the ſenſe appeared to have been miſtaken;

miſtaken; and, in theſe inſtances, I conſidered the production of the evidence, on which I formed my opinions, to be a duty, from which I could not honourably diſengage myſelf. The references in many places have been by theſe means corrected; where they were wanting, they have been added; and from their number, the Work has taken inſenſibly a new ſhape. The Notes and Obſervations will be found in general connected with the Subject. Sometimes I may have wandered beyond the limits, that perhaps I ſhould have preſcribed to myſelf, yet I ſtill truſt the excurſions are not of unpardonable extent.

ERRATA.

Page	55	*Note*	line	2	*for* Kaſter	*read*	Kuſter
	61	*Text*	line	12	Eldriſi		Eldriſi
		Note[q]			Eldriſi		Eldriſi
	76	*Note*[r]			Uſher.		Uſſerii
	78	*Note*[d]	line	1	quinxe		quinze
	80	*Text*	line	7	Phacelides		Phaſelides
	82	*Note*	line	6	aucun		aucune
		Note	line	9	certain		certaine
	115	*Note*[l]	line	5	Boyle		Bayle
	122	*Note*[h]			Port		Poſt
	136	*Text*	line	7	Tapſacus		Thapſacus
		Note	line	1	*after* Guides	*inſert*	are
	147	*Note*[o]			Uſherii		Uſſerii
	156	*Note*[i]	line	1	ὁῦ		ὅῦ
	216	*Text*	line	2	Le Brun		Le Bruyn
		Note[d]			de le Brun		de le Bruyn
	217	*Note*[m]			de la Bruyn		de le Bruyn
	261	*Note*[a]	line	1	Βαβυλονι		Βαβυλωνι
	301	*Text*	line	11	*dele* to		
	310	*Note*[b]	line	1	Onne		Omne
	383	*Text*	line	4	Atheneus		Athenæus
	389	*Text*	line	3	Lahour		Lahore
	400	*Text*	line	3	Cophina		Cophena
	423	*Text*	line	17	miſtakes		miſtake

For Volga *read* Wolga *paſſim*

INTRODUCTION.

THE ſtate of letters depends in every country upon its political conſtitution. Public liberty gives birth and animation to talents of every denomination: deſpotiſm ſtrangles them at once.——Sparta, forgetful of the ſage maxims of its legiſlator, and Athens, intoxicated with its ſucceſſes, neglected their common ſafety, from principles of mutual diſtruſt. The Peloponneſian war having waſted their forces, and the momentary glory of Thebes having expired with Epaminondas, Philip embraced the opportunity of the Grecian diſſentions to diſſolve their federal government, and to reduce the people that had ſo long reſiſted the arms of Aſia. In vain was the eloquence of Demoſthenes exerted to rouſe his countrymen from their ſhameful lethargy. Their morals were corrupted, luxury had annihilated every manly ſentiment, and the great exploits of ſo many heroes who had immortalized themſelves in the fields of Marathon and Platœa, and in the naval victories near Salamis, inſtead of reviving in the breaſts of the Athenians their antient enthuſiaſm for military vir-

tue, ſerved only by flattering their pride and vanity, to render them ſelf-ſufficient and preſumptuous.——National effeminacy had gradually prepared the Perſian monarchy for its ruin, and on the death of Philip, Alexander mounted the throne and put a period to that empire. The death of this prince in its turn produced another revolution, which was attended with effects equally melancholy and fatal to the general repoſe, and to the progreſs of ſcience and of literature. At intervals the Greeks became the ſport of ambition and of the caprices of Alexander's ſucceſſors, and thoſe proud and ſpirited republicans were rapidly metamorphoſed into a degraded herd of ſlaves. Even the tribune where Demoſthenes had thundered, ſoon only echoed with decrees dictated by adulation and ſervility.——One little ſpark of freedom was indeed ſtill cheriſhed in a part of the Peloponneſus, and the zeal of Aratus, the valour of Philopæmon, and the wiſdom of Lycortas gave celebrity to the Achæan league, and ſupported it in its delicate and diſtreſſing circumſtances. The corruption however had extended too far to be checked, and the very vitals of the Grecian conſtitution were infected with the general depravity. Calliſthenes and his partiſans made no ſcruple of ſelling their country to the Romans, and this wary and crafty people, who had always the art of concealing the ſervitude, to which they reduced the neighbouring nations, under the ſpecious appearances of alliances and friendſhip, completed its ſubjection. But Greece, by the deſtruction of the Achæans, had indeed demoliſhed the laſt rampart of its liberty.

The

The arts and ſciences did not long ſurvive the loſs, and deſpotiſm opened for them with the ſame hands one common tomb. Tragedy, whoſe peculiar province it was to call down the public deteſtation upon tyranny, and the ancient comedy, which had the happy privilege of holding up the abuſe of power to contempt and irony, and of correcting by theſe means any exceſſes of the democratic ſpirit, loſt at once their influence, and along with it their brilliancy. The Gymnaſtic games, ſo proper for the exerciſe of muſcular ſtrength, and to form ſoldiers in the times of peace, became but an uſeleſs ſpectacle, and the individuals who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on theſe occaſions were principally remarkable for their ſcandalous deportment. That ſublime art, which animated the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton drooped and languiſhed, when it was to figure but the images of ſlaves and paraſites. Even the philoſopher, who from having directed the inſtruction of the ſuperior order of his fellow-citizens deſcended into their ſycophant, was at laſt diſtinguiſhed only by the habit of the ancient ſects, which ſo many great names had dignified.——Here let us pauſe upon the fate of hiſtory in theſe diſaſtrous days.

That enchanting harmony of ſtyle, with the art of giving energy to the moſt trifling details, which characterizes the works of Herodotus; the ſublime and ſimple graces of Xenophon, uniting the moſt profound political knowledge with all the talents of an able general and of a philoſopher worthy of the friendſhip of Socrates; the manly eloquence and ſtern virtue of Thucydides

had diſappeared, and we find but very few, if any, traces of their maſterly productions in the writers who followed them in the hiſtoric line.—Yet Theopompus, Philiſtus, Ephorus and Timœus enjoyed a great ſhare of popular applauſe, though their ſeveral works are deficient both in method and materials.—The civil revolutions undoubtedly occaſioned this ſtriking difference, and there are three remarkable eras, that ſhould be particularly attended to.—The firſt is the preciſe period when Philip had rendered himſelf the maſter of Greece.

Tyranny naturally produces different effects on different diſpoſitions and characters. Weak and puſillanimous ſome bend immediately beneath the blaſt, and loſing on the firſt moment of attack every idea of reſiſtance, they kiſs with trembling adoration the hand which is lifted up for their oppreſſion. With a ſuperior force of mind, and indignant at the proſpect of thoſe evils, which arbitrary power hath always following at its heels, others endeavour to exaſperate their country by virulent invectives againſt its new maſters, and alternately exaggerate their vices, and diminiſh the little virtue, that they may accidentally poſſeſs. Such was the influence of the Macedonian power, and it is viſible both in the conduct of thoſe who were at the head of the Grecian ſtates, and the writings of the times.

The reign of Alexander may be reckoned the ſecond ſtage of the decline of hiſtory. Greece being accuſtomed to the Macedonian yoke, and dazzled by the victories of the conqueror of Aſia,

Aſia, in which it was in ſome ſort intereſted from the glory reflected on it, the fermentation which Philip's enterpriſes had excited in its republican breaſts gradually cooled. Their hatred and animoſity were at length ſucceeded by enthuſiaſm, and the ſplendid actions of the Macedonian warrior made an impreſſion on the ſpectators too forcible and powerful to be reſiſted. The later writers, who have taken up the ſame ſubject, have but too often imbibed their ſentiments. They lived indeed under the Roman juriſdiction, but in the miſerable times when the univerſe became a prey to the caprices of thoſe ſanguinary wretches, who filled ſo diſgracefully the throne of the Cæſars. This is the third epoch of the change in the hiſtoric character, and it will be afterwards entered into at large.

The total extinction of the democratic form of government involved in it the fall of literature, and more particularly of hiſtory, which admits of no cultivation with ſucceſs under arbitrary power. Truth was then buried under a maſs of fabulous and contradictory traditions, and the penetrating ſagacity of the philoſopher can alone diſtinguiſh it from falſity, and reconcile the ſtatements of various and jarring recitals.—It would be the height of folly to imagine, that in the following treatiſe the way hath been clearly ſeen amidſt the darkneſs in which ages are enveloped, or that facts have been at all times ſufficiently diſcriminated, which have been magnified beyond their juſt proportion by adulation, and by that love of the marvellous, which was a prevailing paſſion amongſt the Greeks, and a foible from which

which even their beſt writers are not exempt. In the purſuit of the ſucceeding inquiries the truth hath not only been endeavoured to be diſcovered, but according to Ariſtotle's advice the probability. In ſome inſtances, it hath been neceſſary to ſubſtitute conjectures for proofs, and where the reality hath been totally concealed to be ſatisfied with reaſonable ſuppoſitions.——Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Arrian, Q. Curtius and Juſtin are the principal hiſtorians, who have preſerved at any length the actions in the reign of Alexander. A minute examination of each of theſe writers would be unavoidably embarraſſed with their repetitions and obſcurities. The route, that hath been chalked out, appears likely to ſecure it againſt theſe inconveniences, and to leave the full liberty of beſtowing every degree of attention on the facts in chronological order. On this plan, the obſervations may be extended not only to the writers of the life of Alexander, but to every thing that antiquity hath tranſmitted to us relative to this celebrated conqueror.—In the firſt ſection, the ſources, from which the ſeveral hiſtorians have drawn their information, and the degree of authority, that is their due, will be examined. The ſecond will be confined to the military exploits of Alexander, and in the third, thoſe actions will be treated of, that particularly delineate his character. The fourth will be ſet apart for ſome geographical details, which his different expeditions naturally furniſh.

CRITICAL

CRITICAL INQUIRY

RELATING TO THE

ANCIENT HISTORIANS

WHO HAVE WRITTEN OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

SECT. I.

AFTER the laſt ſigh of expiring Liberty in any State, patriotiſm in its language ceaſes to convey to us the ſame idea; and having loſt its influence, no longer warms the frozen breaſts of the inhabitants. Though united within the ſame walls, they concern themſelves no farther with public affairs than as their own private intereſts are immediately affected, and enjoying the preſent hour without any care of futurity, they are ever ready to

to become the ſlaves of that maſter, who bids higheſt for their purchaſe. Self-intereſt dries up the ſource of every ſocial virtue, and as the love of their country, which once inſpired them with every great and noble ſentiment for the public good, no longer actuates them, men of letters frequently employ their talents on ſubjects equally devoid of ſpirit and utility. Taken in this light the annals of a conqueror cannot agitate the reader, like thoſe ſublime and pathetic traits which are perpetually occurring in the hiſtory of a Free People. A ſingle individual acts and triumphs, and a few divided rays of glory are faintly ſcattered on his troops. In a Republic, on the contrary, each member of the community hath a ſhare more or leſs conſiderable in every event; and the happineſs or miſery of the public, from his relation to it, becomes that of his own family.——The actions of his fellow-citizens are hereditary diſtinctions tranſmitted to his children, and the national and private glory are the ſame.

In turning over the hiſtories of the ancient Free ſtates, notwithſtanding the diſtance of time, and a revolution in the manners and forms of government, the events ſtill faſten on the mind, and affect it with the livelieſt emotions. Greece, however, when overpowered with the preſſure of the Macedonian yoke, and afterwards with that of the Romans, paid little attention to public meaſures. The vigour of its hiſtorians was ſoon loſt in the drudgery of their ſervile pens, and their genius vaniſhed with the bright days of their country. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, after having mentioned that harmonious elocution which marked the

ſtyle

ſtyle of the ancient Grecian writers, adds "There is not one of the moderns that hath beſtowed the leaſt regard on it, or conſidered it as either neceſſary or adding elegance to their performances. The numerous writings therefore, which they have left us, are of ſuch a nature as few readers have the patience to go through them. In this claſs are to be included Phylarchus, Duris, Polybius, Saon, Demetrius Calantianus, Hieronymus, Antilochus, Heraclides, Hegeſias the Magneſian, and many others, whoſe names a whole day would not allow me to enumerate."[a]

In proportion as the weight of ſervitude was felt, the human mind ſhrunk within itſelf, and the ſtream of light, which letters had

G

[a] "Τοις δε μεταγενεστεροις ουκετι, πλην ολιγων· χρονω δ' υστερον παντα πασιν ημεληθη· και ουδεις ωετο δειν αναγκαιον αυτο ειναι, ουδε συμβαλλεσθαι τι τω καλλει των λογων. Τοιγαρτοι τοιαυτας συνταξεις κατελιπον, οιας ουδεις υπομενει μεχρι κορωνιδος διελθειν· Φυλαρχον λεγω, και Δυριν, και Πολυβιον, και Ψαωνα, και τον Καλαντιανον Δημητριον, Ιερωνυμον τε και Αντιλοχον, και Ηρακλειδην, και Ηγησιαν Μαγνητα, και αλλους μυριους· ων απαντων τα ονοματα ει βουλοιμην λεγειν, επιλειψει με ὁ της ημερας χρονος." Dion. Halicarn. de ſtructurâ orat. 39, 40. ed. Upton. 8vo 1728.

The following is the French Verſion of this Paſſage, "Elle fut dans les temps poſterieurs fort negligée. Perſonne n'a penſée ſans doute a faire ce parallele, (de cette nouvelle elocution avec l'ancienne) il ne ſoutiendroit pas juſque à la fin la lecture de tous les ouvrages que nous ont laiſſe *Plutarque*, Duris, Polybe, &c. &c." The miſtake of Plutarch for *Phylarchus* is alone ſufficient to prove the indiſpenſable neceſſity of the

"*Integros accedere fontes,*"

(Lucret. 1.–926.)

and of tracing authorities up to their ſource.———The Baron de St. Croix wiſhes to ſubſtitute the word Ψαμιον for Ψαωνα, and to apply it to Duris, who he ſays, was always diſtinguiſhed by this addition, but for this reading, a violent tranſpoſition will be requiſite, as well as a correction of the Text, and there is not certainly any occaſion for either, as Diodorus Siculus expreſsly mentions an Hiſtorian of this name, "Ψαων δε ὁ Πλαταιευς ταις απο τετε διαδεξαμενοις πραξεις εγραψε βιβλους τριακοντα." Diod. Sicul. Eclogæ ex Lib. 21.–490. Tom. 2. Ed. Weſſ. Armſt. 1746.

had poured upon it, gradually receded, till it was totally extinguiſhed in obſcurity. That wretched ſpecies of adulation, which blaſts every appearance of genius and cramps the intellectual faculties, was laviſhly adopted under the Roman Emperors, and made a rapid progreſs towards general currency and uſage. Actions almoſt below notice became the ſubjects of the declamations of the ſophiſts, who deſcribed the moſt trifling circumſtances in the moſt unnatural colours, and in a pomp of language wholly inconſiſtent with them. Lucian hath compared this phrenſy to the epidemical fever of the Abderites,[b] who ran about the ſtreets after

[b] The Αβδηρα καλη τηιων αποικια was however proverbial. Voſſius hath thus explained it. "Teii cognita ubertate et amœnitate ſoli Abderitici, hanc ſuam coloniam pulchram appellarunt, ideoque omnes illuc migrarunt. Sed poſtea cognoverunt eam ſoli aeriſque in hoc tractu eſſe naturam, ut non tantum equi et jumenta in vicinis paſcuis degentes, aut bibentes ex Coſſineto flumine in rabiem agerentur, verum etiam ipſos homines ſæpe corripi inſaniâ, plurimoſque ibi naſci deliros. Hinc ironice dictum Abdera, pulchra Teiorum colonia." I. Voſſius ad P. Melam. Lib. 2. C. 2.

Lucian hath endeavoured to account for this general phrenſy on more rational principles, by ſuppoſing the Andromeda to have been repreſented by Archelaus a very popular tragedian, in the midſt of ſummer, and under the influence of burning weather, to ſuch crouded audiences as occaſioned a violent fever in moſt of the ſpectators, who had the image of the Andromeda ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on the brain, that in their delirium they were perpetually repeating it, "Αιτιαν δε μοι δοκει τε τοιστε παρασχειν, Αρχελαος ὁ τραγωδος, ευδοκιμων τοτε, μεσουντος θερους εν πολλω τω φλογμω τραγωδησας αυτοις την Ανδρομεδαν, ὡς πυρεξαι τε απο τε θεατρε τες πολλες, κ) αναζαντας ὑστερον ες την τραγωδιαν παροξισθαινειν, επιπολυ εμφιλοχωρησης της Ανδρομεδας τη μνημη αυτων, κ) τε Περσεως ετι συν τη Μεδεση, την εκαστε γνωμην περιπετομενε" Quomod. Hiſt. Conſcrib. ſit. Tom. 2. 2.--3. 4to Amſt. 1743.

Athenæus hath preſerved the Fragment which was principally vociferated, and the curious reader may not be diſpleaſed to find it.

"Συ

after the repreſentation of the Andromeda of Euripides, repeating with violent agitations particular verſes of this poet. Some extraordinary ſymptoms attended the complaint, but it was confined to the heats of ſummer and ended with it.

On the ſlighteſt ſkirmiſhes, details of them were given without end, teeming with incidents, that had no exiſtence whatever, but in the diſordered imaginations of their authors. Adding ignorance to effrontery, theſe chroniclers committed the moſt egregious faults, and erred in the moſt unguarded manner both againſt the laws of geography and tactics. After a moſt deſperate battle, when victory had been long doubtful, the loſs of the enemy was repreſented as immenſe, whilſt that of the Romans was barely perceptible; and in one of theſe ſingular engagements, the former were ſtated to have had ſeventy thouſand, and thirty-ſix[c] men killed,

" Συ δ'ω Τυραννε Θεων τε κ' Ανθρωπων, Ερως,
Η μη διδασκε τα καλα φαινεσθαι καλα,
Η τοις ερωσιν ὡν συ δημιουργος ει,
Μοχθουσι μοχθους ευτυχως συνεκπονει,
Και ταυτα μεν δρων τιμιος Θεοις εση,
Μη δρων δ'ὑπ'αυτου τε διδασκεσθαι φιλειν,
Αφαιρεθηση χαριτας ἁις τιμωσι σε·"

Athenæus, Lib. 13. 561. Fol. Lugd. 1612.

[c] In the French Text the number ſtands at, ſeven thouſand, two hundred and thirty-ſix. Lucian's words are, " Των μεν πολεμιων, αποθανειν μυριαδες ἑπτα, και τριακοντα, και ἑξ προς διακοσιοις. Ρωμαιων δε, μονοι δυο, και τραυματιας γενεσθαι ἑννεα." (Quomod. Hiſt. conſcrib. ſit. Tom. 2.--29.) but his Editors and Annotators have differed on the calculation. Reitzius hath tranſlated the paſſage, " Hoſtium quidem cecidiſſe *trecenties*, et ſeptuagies mille ducentos et ſex: Romanorum vero

killed, and the latter, only two men killed and nine wounded. From an immoderate rage for deſcription, we have a laboured diſplay of arms and military weapons, of foſſes, baſtions and bridges; and the common accidents of war are worked up in ſuch a ſtyle, as to be more proper for the ſock and buſkin. In ſhort, the writers of theſe times disfigured their relations with ſo many, and ſuch extravagances, as often to have placed, to borrow one of Lucian's expreſſions, the head of the Rhodian Coloſſus[d] on the diminutive body of a dwarf.

This lively and judicious writer, that hath been juſt cited, after expoſing with his uſual poignancy the errors and defects of the hiſtorians of his days, hath eſtabliſhed more ſolid rules, and pointed out a clearer method for ſuch compoſitions. With a view of oppoſing a new and laſting barrier to the contagion of the times, and

vero ſolos duo, ſaucios autem factos novem." Geſner in his note upon the paſſage hath with more modeſty reduced the number to ſeventy thouſand, two hundred and thirty-ſix, but he adds with ſome pleaſantry, "Qui mentiuntur, tales minutias non curant."

[d] "Τȣ Ῥωδιων Κολοσσȣ την κεφαλην νανωδει σωματι επιτιθεντας." (Quomod. Hiſt. conſcrib. ſit. Tom. 2.--32.) The Rhodian Coloſſus, (for an account of which ſee Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 34. Sect. 18.— Strabo. Lib. 14.—Philoſtr. Vit. Apol. and alſo Scaliger, Animadverſiones in Euſebii Chronicon. No. 1794.–137.) was the work of Chares Lindius, the diſciple of Lyſippus, on which he was employed twelve years. It was finiſhed about 278 years before Chriſt, and after ſtanding fifty-ſix years, was overturned by an earthquake. Its remains ſtill exiſted as late as the 672nd year of the Chriſtian Era, when they were ſold, on the capture of Rhodes by the Saracens. Notwithſtanding the injuries this ſtatue muſt have ſuffered, and the numerous depredations it muſt have been expoſed to, the braſs is ſaid to have then loaden no leſs than nine hundred camels. Allowing each camel a load of eight hundred pounds, (Monſ. Volney reckons the uſual burthen about 750,) the whole muſt have weighed above 700,000 pounds.

and wiſhing to ſtrip the faſhionable ſtyle of the aſcendency, which it had uſurped over the public opinions, his two books of real hiſtory were profeſſedly undertaken. This work, which may be conſidered as an imaginary ſketch, from its aſtoniſhing fecundity in thoſe burleſque and gigantic ideas, which are ſcattered through it, with a prodigality almoſt without example, is in fact an ingenious fiction, intended to expoſe to general opprobrium thoſe ſtrange and monſtrous productions, which were made up of hiſtory and romance, without being ſtrictly either.

To fix perhaps the preciſe value of the works of every author, ſome knowledge of the age in which he lived is neceſſary, in order to appreciate the advantages that he was poſſeſſed of, what he owed merely to his own ingenuity and exertions, and to thoſe of his cotemporaries. The obſervations on the fate of letters, as connected with the civil revolutions of ſtates and governments that have been already made, appear to have partly anſwered the firſt of theſe ends, at leaſt, as far as the hiſtorians of the life of Alexander are concerned; to the ſecond, the reſult of a more particular examination of the hiſtorians themſelves, will be more immediately applicable. But previous to any diſſertation on theſe different hiſtorians, it may be requiſite to eſtimate the degree of credit to which they are ſeverally entitled, and to eſtabliſh it with any certitude, the authorities from which they derived their informations muſt be reſorted to. Where facts alſo reſt upon traditions, whether oral or written, there will be an indiſpenſable

penſable neceſſity of purſuing them back as far as poſſible, and of aſcending to the firſt evidences which are acceſſible.

That enthuſiaſm, which is born in ſeaſons of proſperity, and dies when they diſappear, that enthuſiaſm, which, in moments of national intoxication, produces ſuch rapid and aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes, had undoubtedly fired the imaginations of the companions of Alexander's arms and their cotemporaries. Yet this factitious and temporary fervour was but in reality the phoſphorus, which exhibits an apparent flame without its moſt eſſential qualities.—— It naturally occaſioned a multitude of writings, where the marvellous rather ſeduced the underſtanding than affected it with any powerful emotions, and amazed it, without leaving on it any durable or laſting impreſſions.——Strabo informs us, that this love of the marvellous had ſo captivated almoſt all the hiſtorians of Alexander, that there were not any of them wholly free from this epidemic infection, or who made any heſitation at the ſacrifice of truth to it, wherever they interfered[e] with each other.

Calliſthenes,[f] Oneſicritus, Hegeſias and Clitarchus, ſeem to have

[e] "Cet amour du Merveilleux s'etoit emparé, ſelon Strabon, de la plume de preſque tous les hiſtoriens du conquerant de l'Aſie; aucun d'eux ne fut entierement exempt de ce defaut epidemique." Strabo's expreſſion in the paſſage referred to, is, "Παντες μεν γαρ οι περι Αλεξανδρον, το θαυμαστον αντι ταληθους αποδεχονται." (Lib. 15.—1022.) A ſentiment that I have added.

[f] Calliſthenes ſucceeded Ariſtotle as preceptor to Alexander, and afterwards attended him in his oriental expedition. Cicero had but a mean opinion of his hiſtorical talents, as may be gathered

have been the authors of numerous miſtakes, and we know by experience, that they are always propagated in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and diſpoſition of the ſucceeding writers who tranſcribe them or adopt them. At this diſtance, we muſt rely on the judgment which the ableſt critics of the ancients have paſſed on their reſpective works, and the opinions which they entertained of them.——It was undoubtedly the intention of Calliſthenes[g] to magnify the actions of Alexander, and to augment his glory by a ſtyle as little adapted to hiſtory as to real eloquence. "Some expreſſions of Calliſthenes," ſays Longinus, "do not ſhine like ſtars, but glare like meteors."[h] The judicious criticiſm of Polybius, on his deſcription of the battle of Iſſus, ſhall be hereafter mentioned.—With equal ignorance in tactics, and ſuperſtition, which in a philoſopher is extraordinary, Calliſthenes relates, according to Strabo, that "Alexander having learnt that Perſeus and Hercules had viſited the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, began his march with the ſame emulation, from Parœtonium, and though ſtrong ſoutherly

gathered from two of his expreſſions. "Calliſthenes comes Alexandri, ſcripſit hiſtoriam; et hic quidem rhetorico pene more." (De oratore, Lib. 11. Sec. 14.) "Itaque ad Calliſthenem et Philiſtum redeo: in quibus te video volutatum. Calliſthenes quidem, vulgare et notum negotium." Epiſt. ad Q. Fratrem. Lib. 11. Epiſt. 13.

g "Ουκουν αυτος αφιχθαι απ'Αλεξανδρου δοξαν κτησομενος, αλλα εκεινον ευκλεα ες ανθρωπους ποιησων. και ουν και του θειου την μετουσιαν Αλεξανδρω ουκ εξ ὡν Ολυμπιας ὑπερ της γενεσεως αυτου ψευδεται ανηρτησθαι, αλλ'εξ ὡν αν αυτος ὑπερ Αλεξανδρου συγγραψας εξενεγκη ες ανθρωπους." Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. 283. 8vo Edit. Amſt. 1757.

h Smith's Longinus. Sect. 3rd.–10.——"Και τινα των Καλλισθενους, ονται ου χ υψηλα αλλα μετεωρα." Dion. Long. Sec. 3. 40. 4to Lond. 1724.

ſoutherly winds oppoſed his progreſs, and he loſt his way amidſt clouds of ſand, he was preſerved by ſhowers of rain and by two ravens, who ſerved him for guides and pointed out to him the road.[1] Theſe circumſtances were dictated by flattery, and the following ones reſemble them. The Monarch had alone the privilege allowed him, of entering the temple in his uſual dreſs, the reſt of his companions being ordered to change theirs, and to wait the anſwer of the Oracle at the doors.—Its reſponſes inſtead of being delivered by the prieſt verbally, like thoſe of Delphi and Branchus, were in a great meaſure communicated by ſigns and nods, in imitation of the Jupiter of Homer."

> Who ſpoke, and awful bent his ſable brows,
> Shook his ambroſial curls, and gave the nod,
> The ſtamp of fate, and ſanction of the God.
>
> POPE.

"The Monarch was however expreſsly told, that he was the ſon of Jupiter. In a more tragic and exaggerated ſtyle, Calliſthenes

[1] A modern eſſayiſt might ſpin out a curious diſſertation on the ſubject of theſe winged pioneers. I am in doubt whether crows (See Langhorn's Plutarch Vol. 4. 260.) or ravens are to be underſtood, but the latter being more reſpectable Gentlemen, I have made choice of them for the office. Plutarch, without ſpecifying their number hath given us more at large the ſtory of the crows or ravens, and their ſervices, but he obſerves they were rather wonderful, an indirect method of attacking the credit of the whole. "Επειτα των ὁρων ὁι περ ησαν τοις ὁδηγοις συγχυθεντων, ϗ πλανης ουσης ϗ διασπασμȣ των βαδιζοντων δια την αγνοιαν, κορακες εκφανεντες ὑπελαμϐανον την ἡγεμονιαν της πορειας, ἑπομενων μεν, εμπροσθεν πετομενοι ϗ σπευδοντες, ὑςερουντας δε ϗ βραδυνοντας αναμενοντες· ὁ δε ην θαυμασιωτοτον, ὡς Καλλισθενης φησιν, ταις φωναις, ανακαλουμενοι τους πλανωμενους νυκτωρ, ϗ κλαζοντες, εις ιχνος καθιςασαν της πορειας." De vit. Alex. Tom. 1.–680. Ed. Francf. 1620.

Callisthenes adds, that Apollo had deserted the Oracle of Branchus since the temple had been pillaged by the followers of Xerxes, when its fountain failed; that it had again flowed, and that some Milesian envoys had brought to Memphis many of the Oracle's predictions, relative to Alexander the son of Jupiter, his future victory at Arbela, the death of Darius, and the Lacedæmonian political commotions. Athenais of Erythrea, another Erythrean Sibyl had before spoken of Alexander's illustrious origin.[k]

Was it by such a medley of fables and credulity, that Callisthenes flattered himself he should immortalize the Conqueror of Asia, and could such a ridiculous and turgid narrative bear any comparison whatever with that hero's actions? The philosopher

 indeed

k "Ὁ γȣν Καλλισθενης φησι τον Αλεξανδρον φιλοδοξησαι μαλιςα, ανελθειν τε επι το χρηςηριον, επειδη ϗ Περσεα ηκȣσε προτερον αναϐηναι ϗ Ἡρακλεα· ὁρμησαντα δ' εκ Παραιτονιȣ ϗ περ νοτων επιπεσοντων βιασασθαι· πλανωμενον δ' ὑπο τȣ κονιορτȣ σωθηναι γενομενων ομϐρων, ϗ δυοιν κορακων ἡγησαμενων την οδον, ηδε τȣτων κολακευτικως λεγομενων τοιαυτα δε ϗ τα ἑξης· μονω γαρ δε τω βασιλει τον ἱερεα επιτρεψαι παρελθειν εις τον νεων μετα της συνηθȣς ςολης, τȣς δ' αλλȣς μετενδυναι την εσθητα, εξωθεν τε της θεμιςειας ακροασασθαι ταντας πλην Αλεξανδρȣ, τȣτον δ' ενδοθεν ειναι· ȣχ' ὡσπερ εν Δελφοις, ϗ Βραγχιδαις τας αποθεσπισεις δια λογων, αλλα νευμασι ϗ συμβολοις το πλεον· ὡς ϗ παρ' Ὁμηρω,

Η, ϗ κυανεησιν επ' οφρυσι νευσε Κρονιων.

τȣ προφητȣ τον Δια ὑποκρινομενȣ· τȣτο μεντοι ρητως ειπειν τον ανθρωπον προς τον βασιλεα, ὁτι ειη Διος υἱος· Προςραγωδει δε τȣτοις ὁ Καλλισθενης, ὁτι τȣ Απολλωνος το εν Βραγχιδαις μαντειον εκλελοιποτος, εξ ὁτȣ το ἱερον ὑπο των Βραγχιδων σεσυλητο επι Ξερξȣ περσισαντων, εκλελοιπυιας δε ϗ της κρηνης, τοτε ἡ τε κρηνη ανασχοι, ϗ μαντεια πολλα ὁι Μιλησιων πρεσβεις κομισθεντες εις Μεμφιν περι της εκ Διος γενεσεως τȣ Αλεξανδρȣ, ϗ της εσομενης περι Αρϐηλα νικης, ϗ τȣ Δαρειȣ θανατȣ, ϗ των εν Λακεδαιμονι νεωτερισμων· περι δε της ευγενειας, ϗ την Ερυθραιαν Αθηναιδα φησιν ανειπειν· ϗ γαρ ταυτην ὁμοιαν γενεσθαι τη παλαια Σιϐυλλη τη Ερυθραια." Strabo. Lib. 17.--1168, 1169.

indeed deſigned to render the fame of Alexander dependent on his own abilities, and ſubſervient to his intereſts; but led aſtray by his own vanity, he erred in the choice of his plan, and fell into diſgrace. Yet we muſt do him the juſtice to acknowledge that he diſcovered great firmneſs of mind, when Alexander inſiſted on exceſſive and divine honours from his ſubjects. Calliſthenes then comes forward as the auguſt protector of the injured religion of his country, and the laſt and only champion of its liberty. But a moment's reflection on the preciſe period of this event, which was ſo ſoon followed by his impriſonment, will convince us, that he had no more to hazard, when he ſo courageouſly reſiſted the Macedonian monarch's inclinations, whoſe indignation he had already rouſed.——A ſtriking and a memorable leſſon for the writers of every age, who, forgetful of the duties, which they owe to their own times, to poſterity, and to themſelves, in vain endeavour to ally the low and little intrigues of the courtier with philoſophical integrity and freedom!

Oneſicritus of Ægina, a follower of Diogenes the Cynic, according to Diogenes Laertius, who ſeems to have been a mere compiler without taſte, and to have confounded the firſt and ſecond Cyrus, had written a hiſtory of Alexander on the model of the Cyropœdia, which he probably ſuppoſed to be fictitious; but his falſities and fables have not left us any poſſibility of comparing him with the ſage Xenophon. In imitation of the diſciple of Socrates, who compoſed the memoirs of the younger Cyrus,

Cyrus, the ſcholar of Diogenes entered on thoſe of Alexander. Though he had an excellent original, it was miſerably copied; [l] and Strabo hath admitted that, of all the hiſtorians of Alexander, this cynic philoſopher had advanced with the moſt conſummate aſſurance, tales and paradoxes the moſt ſingular and abſurd. [m] But perhaps it was by theſe means, that he expected to continue in the favour of the Macedonian monarch, who entertained him at his court, and carried him along with him, for the declared purpoſe of writing his hiſtory.——From ſuch venal hands, have we to expect any thing but diſtorted facts in the narrative of Alexander's expeditions! Truth cannot ſtoop to any bribes, and where rewards are begged with importunity, they are notoriouſly the wages of corruption.

Hegeſias, the Magneſian, firſt introduced into Greece, as Strabo informs us, [n] the Aſiatic ſtyle of eloquence, which waſtes,

 like

[l] Diogenes Laertius hath paſſed a leſs ſevere judgment on this unfortunate hiſtorian, "Και τη ἑρμηνειᾳ δε παραπλησιος τωλην ὁτι ὡς απογραφος ἐξ αρχετυπου δευτερευει." (Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--354. 4to Amſt. 1709.) Little of the Archetype however ſeems to have been viſible.

[m] Arrian hath recorded a very particular inſtance of the hiſtorical fidelity of Oneſicritus, and in a fact, of which there could be no doubt. "Της δε αυτου νεως κυβερνητης Ονησικριτος, ὁς εν τη ξυγγραφη την τινα ὑπερ Αλεξανδρου ξυνεγραψε, και τουτο εψευσατο, ναυαρχον ἑαυτον ειναι γραψας, κυβερνητην οντα." (De Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 2.--409.) Strabo ſtyles him, "Ουκ Αλεξανδρου μαλλον η των παραδοξων Αρχικυβερνητην." and adds, "Υπερβαλλεσθαι δε δοκει τους τοσουτους εκεινος τη τερατολογια." Strabo, Lib. 15.--1022.

[n] "Ηγησιας τε ὁ ρητωρ, ὁς ηρξε τε Ασιανου λεγομενου ζυλου, παραφθειρας το καταδεεστερος ἐδος το Αττικον" Strabo, Lib. 14.--959.

like a courtezan, every artifice to enliven the paſſions that habitude hath palled. He was an orator and an hiſtorian, two profeſſions which form at all times a dangerous combination, where a correct taſte is not generally eſtabliſhed, and its limits perfectly defined. His orations were equally faulty in ſentiment and in expreſſion; and when he exerciſed himſelf on hiſtory, his ſtyle was broken and unequal, and full of puerile embelliſhments. [o] Photius hath preſerved ſome fragments of Agatharcides, in which he had keenly cenſured the works of Hegeſias, and ridiculed both his deſcription of the ſiege and capture of Thebes, and his method of deploring the misfortunes of its inhabitants. "Adverſity rendered the place mute that was vociferous."—"Thou haſt acted, Alexander, in deſtroying Thebes, as if Jupiter had torn the moon from one quarter of the heavens."——"The Macedonian phalanx having entered the walls of Thebes, ſword in hand, deprived the city of exiſtence: here was its grave, there was death." [p]

It

[o] This is nearly Cicero's opinion. "Et is quidem non minus ſententiis peccat quam verbis." (De orat. 67. Tom. 1.–478.) "Charifii vult Hegeſias ſimilis eſſe. At quid eſt tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipſâ, quam tamen conſequitur, concinnitate puerile." (De claris oratoribus, 83. Tom. 1.–406.) Plutarch hath handed down to us one of theſe puerile conceits relative to the temple of Diana at Epheſus, which was burnt in the night that Alexander was born. "Εικοτως γαρ εφη καταφλεχθηναι τον νεων, της Αρτεμιδος αχολουμενης περι την Αλεξανδρου μαιωσιν." The obſervation that he makes is, "Επιφωνημα κατασβεσαι την συρκαιαν εκεινην, ὑπο ψυχριας δυναμενον." (De vit. Alex. Plut. opera, Tom. 1.–665.) I do not know whether the obſervation on the ſentiment, or the ſentiment itſelf, is moſt exceptionable.

[p] "Τον γαρ μεγιςα φωνησαντα τοπον, αφωνον ἡ συμφορα πεποιηκε."——"Ομοιον πεποιηκας, Αλεξανδρε, Θηβας κακασκαψας, ὡς αν ει ὁ Ζευς εκ της κατα Ουρανον μεριδος εκβαλοι την σεληνην."——

"H

It is not without ſome reaſon, that Agatharcides hath obſerved, this miſerable ſophiſt appears to have mentioned this event rather to diſplay his own wit, than to commiſerate the lamentable fortune of the Thebans. [q]

Longinus tells us, that Hegeſias appeared in his own opinion to conſider himſelf as inſpired, but inſtead of being influenced by any divine impulſe, he trifled like a child; [r] and in ſhort, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus pretends, that there is not a ſingle well-turned period in all his works. [s] A fragment is ſelected on the ſiege of Gaza and puniſhment of Betis, as an example of his poverty of ſtyle; and he compares his relation of the tragical end of Betis, with Homer's account of the ignominious treatment of Hector's dead

"Η δε φαλαγξ των Μακεδονων εισβιασαμενη τοις ὁπλοις εντος τειχους την πολιν απεκτενεν· εκει μεν ταφη πολεως, ενταυθα δε θανατος·"——— (Photii Bibliotheca, 1336. 1337. Fol. Rothomag. 1653.) The three paſſages are here given in the ſame order as the reader will find them on a reference to Photius. The Baron de St. Croix had tranſpoſed them. "Arracha la vie à cette ville," are the words of the French tranſlation. The Greek original may bear the hyperbole, but I have ſoftened the expreſſion.

q "Εμοι μεν ουν σκωπτειν και ὁ σοφιστης δοκει δια τουτων ουκ ολοφυρεσθαι των πολεων την τυχην·" (Phobii Bibliotheca, 1336.) Himerius ſeems to have copied Hegeſias in his deſcription of the capture of Thebes, (Photii Bibliotheca, 1080.) but the exploits of Alexander have been a fruitful ſubject for general declamation. The rhetorical flouriſhes of the elder Seneca, "Deliberat Alexander an oceanum naviget." (Suaſor, Tom. 3. Amſt. 8vo 1672.) "Deliberat Alexander an Babyloniam intret, cum denuntiatum eſſet illi reſponſo auguris periculum." (Suaſor, 4. Tom. 3.) are well known.

r "Πολλαχη γαρ ενθυσιαν ἑαυτοις δοκουντες ὑ βακχευουσιν αλλα παιζουσιν·" Dion. Longinus, Sect. 3.

s "Ενιουν ταις τοσαυταις γραφαις ὡς καταλελοιπεν ὁ ανηρ, μιαν ουκ αν ἑυροι τις σελιδα συγκειμενην ευτυχως·" Dion. Halicarnaſſ. de ſtructurâ orationis. 144.

dead body by Achilles, in the Iliad, which the Magneſian ſophiſt had ridiculouſly imitated.[t] Q. Curtius[w] ſeems not to have ſuffered this work of Hegeſias to have eſcaped his attention: he hath, notwithſtanding, touched on the event without entering into any of its diſguſting circumſtances. Clitarchus, the ſon of Dinon, acquired ſome reputation in his own times, by the publication of his work on Alexander's expeditions; but a bloated ſtyle produces regularly exaggerated facts. "Clitarchus comes under

[t] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus hath given us the paſſage at full length. "Ὁ δε βασιλευς εχων το συνταγμα προηγειτο, ϗ πως εβεβελευτο των πολεμιων τοις αριςοις απανταν εισιων. τȣτο γαρ εγνωςο, κρατησασιν ἑνος συνεκβαλλειν ϗ το πληθος. Η μεν ουν ελπις ἁυτη συνεδραμεν εις το τολμαν, ὡςε Αλεξανδρον μηδε ποτε κινδυνευσαι προτερον ὁυτως. ανηρ γαρ των πολεμιων, εις γονατα συγκαμφθεις, εδοξε τȣτ' Αλεξανδρω της ἱκετειας ἑνεκα πραξαι. Προεμενος δ' εγυς, μικρον εκνευει το ξιφος ενεγκαντος ὑπο τα πτερυγια τȣ θωρακος, ὡςε γενεσθαι ϗ την πληγην ου καιριωτατην. Αλλα τον μεν αυτος απωλεσε, κατα κεφαλης τυπτων τη μαχαιρα· τȣς δ' αλλȣς οργη προσφατος επιμπρατο ὑτω γαρ ἑκαςȣ τον ελεον εξεςησεν ἡ τȣ τολμησαντος απονοια, των μεν ιδοντων, των δ' ακȣσαντων· ὡςε ἑξακισχιλιȣς ὑπο την σαλπιγγα εκεινην των βαρβαρων κατακοπηναι. Τον μεντοι βασιλεα αυτον ανηγαγον ζωντα Λεωνατος ϗ Φιλωτας. ιδων δε πολυσαρκον, ϗ μεγαν, ὡς βδελυρωτατον· μελας γαρ ην ϗ το χρωμα· μισησας εφ' οις εβεβελευτο, ϗ το ειδος, εκελευσε δια των ποδων χαλκȣν ψαλιον διειραντας, ἑλκειν κυκλω γυμνον. Πιλȣμενος δε κακοις περι πολλας τραχυτητας εκραζεν. αυτο δ' ην ὁ λεγω, το συναγον ανθρωπȣς. επετεινε μεν γαρ ὁ πονος, βαρβαρον δ' εβοα δεσποτην, ϗ ἱκετευων· γελαν δε ὁ σολοικισμος εποιει. το δε ςεαρ ϗ το κυτος της γαςρος, ενεφαινε Βαβυλωνιον ζωον ετερον ἁδρον. ὁ μεν ουν οχλος ενεπαιζε, ςρατιωτικην ὑβριν ὑβριζων, ειδεχθη ϗ τω τροπω σκαιον εχθρον." (De ſtructurâ orat. 146.) But I do not find the obſervation that "Il compare cette maniere de raconter les faits aux traitemens ignominieux qu'Achille fait eſſuyer au corps d'Hector," is well founded, and I have therefore adopted the ſenſe of the Greek original. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus drew only a parallel between the two deſcriptions of the puniſhment of Betis, and the indignity offered to Hector's body; and had no intention whatever of comparing the ſophiſt's manner of relating facts, to the diſgraceful conduct of Achilles. He adds indeed and with ſtrict juſtice, "Ὡς δε ὁ Μαγνης ειρηκεν, ὡς ὑπο γυναικων η κατεαγοτων ανθρωπων λεγοιτ' αν, και ουδε τȣτων μετα σπȣδης, αλλ' επι χλευασμω και καταγελωτι." De ſtructurâ orat. 153.

[w] Q. Curtius, Lib. 4. C. 6.

under this cenſure," ſays Longinus, "ſtill more, who bluſters and blows, as Sophocles expreſſes it,"

"Loud ſounding blaſts, not ſweeten'd by the ſtop."[x]

The judicious author of the treatiſe, attributed to Demetrius Phalereus, hath confirmed with his authority the opinion of Longinus, and hath laughed at this writer's unnatural conceits and pomp.[y] Cicero expreſsly reproaches Siſenna[z] with his puerile manner, and declares that this Roman chronicler ſeemed, of all the Greek authors, to have been only acquainted with Clitarchus, whom he had imitated, and whoſe defects included in all likelihood, that glare, which hath been improperly termed ingenuity, and which hath often corrupted talents of more than common expectation. The narrative of Clitarchus was moſt probably full of this ſeductive glitter, ſo fatal to the progreſs of letters, and

[x] Smith's Longinus, 10. "Και ετι μαλλον Κλειταρχῳ· φλοιωδης γαρ ὁ ανηρ, και φυσων κατα τον Σοφοκλεα,

Ου σμικροις μεν αυλισκοισι—
————φορβειας δ'ατερ." Longinus, Sect. 2.

Cicero in his epiſtles to Atticus, (Lib. 2. Epiſt. 16.) hath cited the whole paſſage.

"Φυσα γαρ ϑ σμικροισιν αυλισκοις ετι,
Αλλ'αγριαις φυσαισι φορβειας δ'ατερ"

[y] A pompous deſcription of the waſp or hornet is particularly cenſured. "Ὁ Κλειταρχος περι της τενθρηδονος λεγων, ζωϑ μελισσῃ εοικοτος, καταπεμεται, μεν φησι, την ορεινην· εισιπταται δε εις τας κοιλας δρυς·— ὡσπερ περι βοος αγριϑ η τϑ Ερυμανθιϑ καπρϑ λεγων, αλλ'ϑχι περι μελισσης τινος" Demetrius Phalereus, Sect. 330. 331.

[z] "Is tamen neque orator in numero veſtro unquam eſt habitus, et in hiſtoriâ puerile quiddam confectatur: ut unum Clitarchum, neque præterea quemquam, de Græcis legiſſe videatur: eum tamen velle duntaxat imitari." Cicero, de legibus, Lib. 1. Sect. 2. Tom. 3.--117. Ed. Olivet. 4to 1740.

and always announcing their decline; and it is perhaps in this ſenſe, that Quintilian is to be underſtood, when he informs us that this hiſtorian of Alexander was admired for his genius, though his veracity was univerſally decried. [a]——But the Rhetoricians arrogated to themſelves, if we are to believe Cicero, [b] the privilege of lying with impunity, from the avowed motives of giving ſpirit to their works; and Clitarchus juſtifies the propriety of the obſervation, as may be proved from many inſtances, that Strabo, Pliny, and a crowd of the ancient authors have recorded of him. ——All theſe fabulous traditions, exaggerated facts, hyperbolical and improbable relations, with the imaginary deſcriptions of battles and of ſieges, that Alexander's hiſtorians adopted, were in general borrowed from Calliſthenes, Hegeſias, Clitarchus, Oneſicritus, Megaſthenes and Daimachus, and they were more eagerly reſorted to from the corruption of the public taſte, and the numerous admirers of ſuch extravagances, whoſe clamorous applauſes overpowered any cenſures of their folly and abſurdity. ——It is not undoubtedly from this tribe of writers that we are to be ſupplied with any faithful memoirs of the life and actions of Alexander.——They will form a ſeparate and diſtinct claſs, which muſt be afterwards conſidered.——Let not however the moſt audacious Pyrrhoniſm pretend to confound the authentic monuments

[a] "Clitarchi probatur ingenium fides infamatur." Quintil. Inſt. orat. Lib. 10. C. 1.--500. Ed. Geſner. 4to. 1738.

[b] "Conceſſum eſt rhetoribus ementiri in hiſtoriis, ut aliquid dicere poſſint argutiùs. ——Sic Clitarchus." Cicero, de claris oratoribus. Sect. 11. Tom. 1.--345.

monuments that have been left us, with thoſe, which adulation and a love of the marvellous have alone erected. Without endeavouring to diſcriminate truth and falſehood, but willingly acquieſcing in the malicious inclination of blending them both together, let us not ſuppoſe the exploits of the conqueror of Aſia to have been as fabulous as the labours of Hercules; nor give credit to what has been aſſerted in a moment of paradoxical delirium, that the Macedonian hero never penetrated into India.

The memoirs of Ptolemy and of Ariſtobulus, deſerve the firſt places amongſt thoſe works which have any pretenſions to diſtinction: having been eye-witneſſes of the facts, which they relate, theſe two generals of Alexander's army delayed their publications till this Prince's death, in order that flattery might not have any undue influence over them; and that truth might appear in their relations without either reſtriction or diſguiſe. Theſe prudential reaſons, which we have on the faith of Arrian,[c] refute at once Lucian's ſtory, that Alexander having liſtened to Ariſtobulus's account of his combat with Porus, enraged at ſuch a maſs of fables, ordered him to be thrown into the Hydaſpes, crying out, "Thus ought you to have been ſerved yourſelf, for pretending to deſcribe my battles, and killing half a dozen elephants

[c] "Εμοι Πτολεμαιος τε και Αριστοβουλος πιστοτεροι εδοξαν ες την αφηγησιν· ὁ μεν, ὁτι συνεστρατευσε βασιλει Αλεξανδρῳ, Αριστοβουλος, Πτολεμαιος δε, ὡρος τω ξυστρατευσαι, ὁτι και αυτω βασιλει ὀντι αισχροτερον η τω αλλῳ ψευσασθαι ην, αμφω δε, ὁτι τετελευτηκοτος ηδη Αλεξανδρου ξυγγραφουσιν, ὁτε αυτοις ἡτε αναγκη και ὁ μισθος του αλλως τι, ἡ ὡς συνηνεχθη, ξυγγραψαι απην." Arrian. Præfat. Exp. Alex. 2.

with a ſingle dart."[d]——Lucian moſt probably intended to allude to Oneſicritus, as he mentions a few pages afterwards, a converſation[e] of the Macedonian Monarch's with this philoſopher, in which he animadverted on the fulſome flattery of his biographers; and appeared anxious to know the ſentiments that poſterity would entertain of him, and of his actions. Alexander, it is well known, carried Oneſicritus along with him as his hiſtorian, and the name of Ariſtobulus may have been inſerted inſtead of that of the cynic philoſopher, from ſome miſtake of the author or his copyiſts.——This conjecture ſeems to be ſtrengthened alſo by what Lucian ſays of the age of Ariſtobulus, who reached the extended period of ninety years, and with a wonderful ſtrength of underſtanding, entered on the compoſition of his hiſtory at eighty-four.[f] Is it credible that Ariſtobulus at this advanced age, could have followed the Conqueror of Aſia over ſuch immenſe regions to the banks of the Hydaſpes?

A journal of Alexander's exploits, had been reduced into form by Diodotus of Erythrya, and by Eumenes of Cardia, who ſhared with Hephæſtion the favours of his maſter, and was one of the ableſt

[d] Franklin's Lucian, Vol. 2.--277. 8vo Edit. "Και σε δε ὑτως εχρην, ω Αριστοβουλε, τοιαυτα ὑπερ εμε μονομαχουντα, και ελεφαντας εν ακοντιω φονευοντα." Lucian. Quomodo. Hiſt. conſcribenda ſit. Sect. 12. Tom. 2.–17.

[e] Lucian. Quomodo. Hiſt. conſcribenda ſit. Sect. 40. Tom. 2.–54.

[f] Et compoſa ſon hiſtoire à 80. "Την ἱστοριαν δε τεταρτον και ογδοηκοστον ετος γεγονως ηρξατο συγγραφειν." (Lucian. Macrobii, Sect. 22. Tom. 3.–224.) which I have followed.

ableſt and moſt unfortunate generals of his age. If we are to judge of this work, by the numerous fragments of it in ſeveral authors of antiquity;[g] it was both a very accurate and circumſtantial narrative of the public and private life of the Macedonian Prince.

The itinerary of Alexander's army, by Diognetus and Beton, employed by this Monarch in the meaſurement of his marches, and the ſurvey of the countries, that he paſſed through, would naturally have thrown a conſiderable ſhare of light on the expeditions of the Conqueror of Aſia, and the geography of the Eaſt. But this valuable work, which was not indeed neglected either by Ariſtobulus or Ptolemy, hath not eſcaped the ravages of time; and the deſcriptions, which Alexander directed to be made of the different provinces of his empire by able and experienced perſons, have been equally unfortunate.—Patroclus aſſures us, that theſe memoirs had been communicated to him by Xenocles the King's treaſurer;[h] and it is doubtleſs of theſe papers that the illuſtrious Corſini thus expreſſes himſelf, "The very exact deſcriptions, which Alexander directed to be made of his conqueſts, would have been of vaſt ſervice to geography, and rendered it much more perfect."[i]

[g] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Chap. 25.—Plutarch, Vit. Alex. Tom. 1.-706.—Sympoſiacon. Lib. 1. Tom. 2.-623.—Athenæus, Lib. 10.-434.—Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 3. C. 23.

[h] Strabo, Lib. 2. Tom. 1.-120.

[i] "Les deſcriptions exactes qu'Alexandre eut ſoin de faire de ſes conquêtes, donnerent une forme

It is even reaſonable to imagine, that a collection of Alexander's letters remained long after his death; at leaſt it muſt be allowed, that many of them had been made public, as they are cited by a number of the ancient authors.[k] If this correſpondence had deſcended to us, it would certainly have placed in a ſtill clearer point of view the military actions of this Prince, and unfolded to us more diſtinctly, the ſecret motives, that influenced his conduct, his manners and his character. Patroclus, Eratoſthenes and Strabo, had ſeverally made their obſervations on the hiſtorians of Alexander, but theſe treatiſes have alſo periſhed. Their labours would probably have rendered any other attempts of this kind uſeleſs; and the age, in which they lived, undoubtedly afforded them ſuperior advantages for ſuch diſcuſſions. The fabulous traditions, which deſcend from one generation to another, gradually obſcure the light of truth; our efforts to diſcover it are enfeebled by our diſtance from the different events; the gloom augments; doubts accumulate; ſyſtems riſe; our difficulties increaſe; and we loſe even by the flux of time thoſe ſuccours, with which it is impoſſible to be again ſupplied.

Cephalon, a native of Gergetha[l] in the Troad, abridged univerſal

forme beaucoup plus parfaite à la geographie." De l'origin. et des progrès de l'Aſtronom. Acad. des Sciences Anc. Mem. Tom. 8.--13.

[k] Plutarch. Vit. Alex. Tom. 1.--688. 689. 691. 696. 697.
——— Vit. Phocion. Tom. 1.--749.
——— De ſui laude. Tom. 2.--545.
Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Chap. 24.--534.

[l] Strabo, Lib. 13. Tom. 2.--882. Suidas hath confounded him with Cephalon the Rhetorician,

verſal hiſtory; and the work was diſtinguiſhed by accuracy and by preciſion. Every digreſſion was ſtudiouſly avoided in it, and every recital that had not an immediate connection with the facts, that he had to explain or to deſcribe. This hiſtory written in the Ionic dialect, and after the manner of Herodotus divided into nine books, each of which bears the name of one of the Nine Muſes, was the fruit of unwearied application and immenſe reſearches. The laſt book, which had the title of Erato,[m] contained the exploits of the conqueror of Darius, and had been extracted with Herculean perſeverance from no leſs than thirty different authors. What a rich banquet might it not have furniſhed?

A compariſon of different and various evidence is the ſoul of rational inquiry.——Truth often riſes amidſt the ſhock of contending and contradictory opinions; whilſt impoſture acquires its only credit from the careleſs ſilence, or the accommodating concurrence of hiſtorians. Sopater made great uſe of Cephalon's abridgment in his account of Alexander, but even his reſearches have

cian, who lived under Adrian. Vide Suidas, Tom. 3.–305. Κεφαλιων. and alſo Voſſius, de hiſt. Græcis. Lib. 11. Chap. 12.

m "Le dernier liyre intitule Uranie." I have corrected this error, for on turning to the paſſage in Photius, which was referred to, the Greek ſentence appeared to me to be evidently miſtaken; "Συμπεραινεται δε αυτῳ ἡ ἱστορια εν λογοις θ', κατ'επωνυμιαν των θ'Μουσων, Κλειους, Θαλειας, Πολυμνειας, Μελπομενης, Τερψιχορης, Ευτερπης, Καλλιοπης, Ερατους, Ουρανιης, εν ᾗ (that is ἱστορίᾳ) και τα κατα Αλεξανδρον του Μακεδονα διειξεισιν." (Biblioth. 101.) I was happy afterwards to find I had the beſt of all authorities, the authority of Photius himſelf, for this conſtruction. Speaking of Sopater, he ſays, "Ὁ δεκατῳ δε συνηθροισθη εκ τε τῳ Κεφαλιωνῳ Ερατους, διαλαμβανουσης τα κατα Αλεξανδρον." Biblioth. 341.

have not reached us. Chares, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Hecateus of Eretria, Duris of Samos, Nearchus and Timogenes have a juſt claim to the character of authentic writers, and their teſtimony is unexceptionable. If their ſucceſſors had formed themſelves after their example, and had employed the materials which they left them, we ſhould have had great reaſon to have applauded their diſcernment; but the farther they deviated from theſe indiſputable records, the more their authority becomes ſuſpected.——In taking a view of what is not to be doubted on the ſubject of Alexander's hiſtorians, it may be neceſſary to enter into ſome circumſtances relating to them.

Arrian of Nicomedia[n] lived under Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Antoninus;[o] and from having frequented the ſchool of Epictetus he was a zealous advocate for its tenets. The ſame maſterly hand, which ſketched out the moral diſſertations of Epictetus, is eaſily perceptible in the hiſtory of the Macedonian Conqueror; and even the ſpeech, which Arrian puts into the mouth of Dandamis,[p] contains many of the ſentiments, which are to be met

[n] See Tillemont. Hiſt. des Emp. Tom. 4.--453. Ed. 12mo and alſo Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.

[o] Photii Bibliotheca. 53.—Euſebius Chron. Canon. Suidas. Ἀρριανός. Tom. 1.--320.

[p] "Dans la bouche de Calanus." There is a ſort of conſtitutional vivacity, which ſometimes hurries away men of real erudition, and occaſions them a multitude of inadvertencies. With the French, this lively volatility is remarkable, and enters largely into the mercurial character of the nation. It is into the mouth of Dandamis that Arrian hath put this ſpeech, and Calanus is

met with in the collection of thoſe of the Stoic Philoſopher.[q] The moſt celebrated cities took an early opportunity of acknowledging his merit, and of enrolling him amongſt their citizens.—Athens and Rome conferred this honour on him;[r] and the latter intruſted him with the command of a body of its forces. The government of Cappadocia was given to him; and his courage and capacity were equally conſpicuous in the protection of the Province from the Alani,[s] who made an irruption into Aſia Minor, in the 17th year of the reign of Adrian, and 134 years after Chriſt.——Arrian's ſervices were afterwards rewarded with the Conſular dignity.[t]

The

is only celebrated for the firm and undaunted manner, in which he voluntarily committed himſelf to the flames, on the approach of infirmity and ſickneſs; "Πριν τινος ες πειραν ελθειν παθηματος, ὁ, τι περ εξαναγκαση αυτον μεταβαλλειν την προσθεν διαιταν." Arrian hath fairly ſtated, "Ον τινα μαλιστα δη αὐτου ακρατορα Μεγασθενης ανεγραψεν" but his method of winding up the affecting tragedy, "Ουτω δη επιβαντα τη πυρα, κατακλιθηναι μεν εν κοσμω, ὁρασθαι δε προς της στρατιας ξυμπασης.—Ταυτα και τοιαυτα ὑπερ Καλανου του Ινδου ἱκανοι αναγεγραφασιν, ουκ αχρεια παντα ες ανθρωπους, ὁτω γνωναι επιμελες, ὁτι ὡς καρτερον τε εστι και ανικητον γνωμη ανθρωπινη ὁ, τι περ εθελοι εξεργασασθαι." (Lib. 7. Chap. 3.--481, 482.) ſeems to intimate that he did not altogether agree in opinion with Megaſthenes.

Strabo hath given a long account of theſe ancient Bramins, but Dandamis hath there the name of Mandanis. Lib. 15. Tom. 2.--1042, 1043. 1044.

[q] Epictetus, Tom. 1. Lib. 1. Chap. 25.

[r] Arrianus de venatione. C. 1.--190. Ed. 8vo Amſt. 1683.—Lucian Pſeudomant. Tom. 2.--209.

[s] Without any diminution of Arrian's merit, we are informed by Dion. Caſſius, that the perſuaſive arguments of Volgæſius had alſo their influence: "Των Αλβανων τα μεν ΔΩΡΟΙΣ ὑπο του Ουολογαισου πεισθεντων, τα δε και Φλαβιον Αρριανον τον της Καππαδοκιας αρχοντα φοβηθεντων" (Lib. 69. 15. Tom. 2.--1163.) The Alani are here called "Των Αλβανων," and there is a very learned note upon the paſſage.

[t] Suidas. Αρριανος. Tom. 1.--320.—Photii Bibliotheca. 53.

The philoſopher contemplates the conduct, the manners, and the genius of mankind, and takes into conſideration the motives of human actions with the means, that are employed in their execution: his ſcrutinizing eye develops the riſe, the progreſs and the fall of empires; but ſome military knowledge, joined to practical experience, ſeems neceſſary to deſcribe the match of armies, and the operations of victorious generals. Few perſons perhaps poſſeſſed theſe qualifications in a ſuperior degree to Arrian; and his treatiſe upon tactics is an excellent abridgment of all that Greece knew upon the ſubject.[w] The details, on the regulation and evolutions of the phalanx, into which he enters, are juſtly the admiration of all military men[x] for their perſpicuity and preciſion; and the fragment, which remains, relating to his march and the order of battle againſt the Alani, evidently proves that he had taken up his theory from real ſervice. Knowledge and talents of ſuch magnitude are not eaſily concealed, and they diſcover themſelves in the whole hiſtory of Alexander. Yet it is extraordinary, that the luminous manner, in which Arrian hath explained the manœuvres of the Macedonian army, hath even called his veracity in queſtion. An able profeſſional writer hath had the boldneſs to advance, that Arrian endeavours to give leſſons upon tactics at the expence of truth, in the deſcription of the battle of Gaugamele that he hath left us. "If our account of this battle," ſays he, "was a real exerciſe on the art of war, the application

[w] See the preface of Monſ. Guiſcard to his tranſlation of Arrian's Tactics. 49.

[x] Memoires militaires des Grecs et Romains, par Monſ. Guiſcard, Diſc. Prelim. 38.

application of all its grand principles could not be better brought before the eye."[y]——But becauſe an army, when oppoſed to an undiſciplined multitude upon equal ground, is ſaid to have made the moſt judicious movements; are we to infer from this ſimple circumſtance, that the account, which hath been given us by a maſter in the art of war, is the fruit only of his imagination, and the mere reſult of his own ſyſtems? Monsr Guiſcard adds, "That he ſhould never have attempted to doubt the authenticity of the circumſtances of this battle, *if Polybius had not treated the account of the battle of Iſſus by Calliſthenes in the ſame manner.*"[z] ——*If Polybius* hath however detected the impoſitions of Calliſthenes, does the concluſion follow, that Arrian, who had the advantage of the memoirs of the generals of Alexander's army, hath forged what he related? With more juſtice poſſibly he may be open to ſome cenſure on his exceſſive vanity. It is indeed with ſingular oſtentation, that he tells us there was not any neceſſity of his mentioning himſelf; that his birth, his country, and employments, were all well known; and in ſhort, that he ſtood as high amongſt the Grecian writers of eminence, as Alexander

[y] "Cette bataille," ſays he, "fut-elle un vrai thème pour la theorie de l'art de la guerre? Tout cela ne preſenteroit pas mieux ſous un ſeul coup d'œil, l'application de ces grands principes." Memoires milit. ſur les Grecs et les Romains, Tom. 1.--181.

[z] "Qu'il ne ſe ſeroit jamais aviſe de répondre des doutes ſur l'authenticité des circonſtances de cette bataille, . . ſi Polybe ne traitoit pas de même le recit que donne un certain Calliſthene de la bataille d'Iſſus." Mem. milit. &c. &c. Tom. 1.--280.

did in a military line.[a] But perhaps this open and undiſguiſed acknowledgment of his own conſciouſneſs of his literary merit hath ſome little claim to our indulgence.——It may be founded on ſome plauſible pretenſions to general approbation, and is in fact a weakneſs, that increaſes not unfrequently with the reputation, that a writer acquires in the public eſtimation. Arrian concludes his work with the information, that he had not inconſiderately engaged in it, but had been animated by a divine impulſe to the enterpriſe.[b] In this ſpecies of ſuperſtitious enthuſiaſm we diſcover at once the prieſt of Ceres, whoſe functions Arrian had himſelf exerciſed.[c]

Ptolemy, the chief of the Lagides,[d] and Ariſtobulus were the principal guides, that Arrian followed; and Ptolemy ſeems to have had the preference,[e] though he has not copied either of them

a "Το μεν ονομα ουδεν δεομαι αναγραψαι, (ουδε γαρ ουδε αγνωστον εστιν) ουδε πατριδα ητις μοι εστιν, ουδε το γενος το εμον, ουδε ει δη τινα Αρχην εν τη εμαυτου ηρξα.——και επι τωδε ουκ απαξιω των πρωτων εν τη φωνη τη Ἑλλαδι, ειπερ ουν και Αλεξανδρος των εν τοις οπλοις. Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 12.--50.

b "Ουδε ανευ Θεου" Arrian. Lib. 7. Chap. 30.--546.

c See Dodwell, de ætate, Peripli maris Euxini. Sect. 8.

d "Ptolemy's mother was Arſinoe. Being with child by Philip of Macedon, ſhe was married to Lagus, and Ptolemy was in conſequence called the ſon of Lagus. He had a principal command under Alexander, and afterwards obtained the kingdom of Egypt." Pauſanias, Attica. 14. 15.

e "Ὡς λεγει Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου, ὡ μαλιστα εγω ἑπομαι" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. Chap. 2.-409.

them ſervilely, or without conſideration. He hath extracted alſo from other hiſtorians every thing relating to Alexander, that he thought worthy of preſervation, and not altogether deſtitute of probability, though only founded on report. [f]——This may not be ſtrictly juſtifiable; but the proper moments for inveſtigation are not thoſe of enthuſiaſm, when the fever of imagination runs too high for calm and diſpaſſionate inquiry.

Arrian informs us there was not any perſon that had ſo many hiſtorians, or ſo many contradictory ones as Alexander, and he finiſhes his preface with the following ſentence; "And if any now wonder why, after ſo many writers of Alexander's acts, I alſo attempt the taſk, and endeavour to elucidate the ſame, after he has peruſed the reſt, let him proceed to the reading of mine, and he will find leſs cauſe of wonder than before." [g]——Drawing our

 obſervations

[f] "Lorſqu'ils ont rapportè des choſes dignes d'être conſervées, et qui pouvoient paſſer pour croyable, parce que ſelon lui, elles concernoient Alexandre, voila une logique pitoyable." I flatter myſelf I have correctly given Arrian's ſentiments, and I confeſs I ſee nothing of that miſerable logic, with which he is reproached. He does not mean to ſay, that he believed the reports becauſe they related to Alexander, but that they did not appear to be entirely improbable, though founded only on common fame. "Εςι δε ἁ κ̀ προς αλλων ξυγγεγραμμενα, ὁτι κ̀ αυτα αξιαφηγητα τε μοι εδοξαν, κ̀ ȣ παντη απιςα, ὡς λεγομενα μονον ὑπερ Αλεξανδρȣ, ανεγραψὰ." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2.) In the learned note on this paſſage in the edition of Arrian's Expeditio Alexandri, 8vo Amſt. 1757. the diſtinction between the "Τα λεγομενα μονον" mere reports, and the "Τα οντα" real facts, is extremely well explained. Tacitus, as is judiciouſly obſerved, hath nearly the ſame idea. "Ut conquirere fabuloſa et fictis oblectare legentium animos, procul gravitate cæpti operis crediderim: ita vulgatis traditiſque demere fidem non auſim." Tacit. 2. 50. 3.

[g] Rooke's Arrian. Preface. Vol. 1.--2. "Ὁςις δε θαυμασεται ανθ' ὁτȣ επι τοσοις δε συγγραφευσι, κ̀ ομοι επι νȣνηλθεν ἡδε ἡ συγγραφη, τα τε εκεινων παντα τις αναλεξαμενος, κ̀ τοισδε τοις ἡμετεροις εντυχων, ȣ̓ τω θαυμαξετω."

obſervations from this paſſage along with that, which hath been already alluded to; the real motives, which engaged him to undertake the hiſtory of Alexander, may be gueſſed at.——The work itſelf is divided into ſeven books, but the laſt hath only come down to us in a crippled ſtate. There is a deficiency, though not a very conſiderable one, which muſt have contained the flight of Harpalus, as appears from the abridgment, that Photius hath given us of this book, which in his time was ſtill perfect and unimpaired.

This ingenious critic hath beſtowed very liberal encomiums on Arrian's noble ſimplicity and clearneſs of ſtyle; and conſidering it as a very exact imitation of Zenophon, he will not allow of his being inferior to any of the great writers in hiſtory, that had previouſly diſtinguiſhed themſelves.—Photius commends alſo the narrative of Arrian for its preciſion without any tedious digreſſions; though perhaps that, which relates to the military bridges of the Romans, is not entirely clear of this objection. The parentheſes, he adds, do not interrupt the narrative, which hath ſtrong marks of eloquence; and indeed the harangue of Cœnus in the name of the Macedonian ſoldiers, ſatiated with conqueſts and with glory, is certainly both very affecting and pathetic. Photius after having given Arrian a decided preference to all the other hiſtorians of Alexander, finiſhes his account of his writings with the

τω." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. 2, 3.) The Baron de St. Croix would read Ὄυτε, but Arrian afterwards makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion. "Ὁσις δε κακιζει Αλεξανδρον——ὅτω δη εκλογιζεσθω." Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 30.-545.

the declaration, that on weighing his merits with thoſe of the ancient hiſtorians in general, many of them will be found unequal to him [h].——Yet it would be uncandid to conceal, that Arrian's inclinations to exalt his Hero, to repreſent as favourably as poſſible thoſe actions of the Macedonian Monarch, which may be juſtly cenſured, and to exaggerate his ſucceſſes, are very evident. —Not ſatisfied with raiſing Alexander above all other conquerors, he aſſures us that he is no leſs illuſtrious than Minos, Eacus, and Rhadamanthus, the ſons of Jupiter; and ſuppoſing even this compariſon of his Hero with the venerable judges of the ſhades ſtill gave too faint an idea of him, he extends it to Theſeus the ſon of Neptune, and Ion, the ſon of Apollo.—Allowing for this momentary glow of enthuſiaſm, Arrian on the whole ſeems to have poſſeſſed a ſound and diſcriminating underſtanding in the diſcuſſion of the ſeveral facts, which he hath related; to have adopted them only after a cautious examination of them; and even in ſome inſtances to have condemned Alexander with ſeverity. On the ſubject of a letter, written by the Prince to Cleomenes, who then commanded in Egypt, in which, though he diſapproved of his conduct, he aſſured him of a pardon not only for thoſe crimes that he had already committed, but for any future

[h] "Photius apres avoir placé Arrian au-deſſus meme de pluſieurs anciens hiſtoriens finit par lui donner la preference ſur tous ceux qui avoient ecrit l'hiſtoire d'Alexandre." The fact is ſubſtantially exact, but is not correctly related. Photius firſt expreſſes himſelf of Arrian, "Ουτος δε συντατ[illegible]ει παντων αμεινον ϗ τα κατα Αλεξανδρον τον Μακεδονα" (Biblioth. 52.) And he finiſhes what he ſays of him with "Και απλως, ει τις κατ'αυτον επι τους ιστορικους αναχθειη λογους, πολλους και των αρχαιων ιδοι της αυτε ταξεως ἑσαμενους ταπεινοτερον" (Biblioth. 228.) which is the arrangement that I have obſerved.

ture ones, provided he found at his return temples and monuments erected to the memory and in honour of Hœpheſtion, Arrian riſes indignant at ſuch a ſhameful compromiſe, and declares with an honeſt zeal, that he cannot palliate a promiſe of this ſort to ſuch a culprit. But this is not the ſingle inſtance in which he hath reflected on the Conqueror of Aſia: he concludes in the following terms, "And though I take the freedom in this hiſtory of his actions, ſometimes to cenſure him, yet I cannot but own myſelf an admirer of them altogether: I have, however, fixed a mark of reproach upon ſome of them, as well for the ſake of truth, as the public benefit; upon which account, by the aſſiſtance of Providence, I undertook this work." [1]——A few geographical errors occur undoubtedly in Arrian, but if we compare them with the multitude, that all the other hiſtorians have fallen into, they will appear very trivial, and we ſhall be rather ſurpriſed they are ſo trifling and ſo few; conſidering the difficulties, that he had to ſtruggle with, and the intricacies in which his predeceſſors had involved him.—Without any heſitation we may therefore give him a decided preference, and after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a writer, a general, and a philoſopher, he may be juſtly reckoned the firſt hiſtorian of Alexander's actions, and the only one on whoſe authority any confidence is to be placed.

Without

[1] Rooke's Arrian, Vol. 1.--200, 201. "Επει και αυτος εμεμψαμην εςιν ἁ εν τῃ ξυγγραφῃ των Αλεξανδρου εργων, αλλ'αυτον γε Αλεξανδρον ουκ αισχυνομαι θαυμαζων· τα δε εργα εκεινα εκακισα, αληθειας τε ἑνεκα της εμης, και ἁμα ωφελειας της επ'ανθρωπους· εφ'ὁτω ὡρμηθην, ουδε αυτος ανευ Θεου, ες τηνδε την ξυγγραφην·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Chap. 30.--546.

Without entering into any argument, as to the preciſe time when Plutarch lived; it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that Euſebius mentions this philoſopher in the 224th Olympiad, 120 years after Chriſt; and that the particular circumſtances relating to him, are too well known to be repeated.——His life of Alexander cannot be ſuppoſed by any means to be a regular and continued hiſtory of this Prince's actions; thoſe of great men being in general a ſort of portraits, where the colouring is very high, and the likeneſs hath frequently a brilliancy, which exceeds even that of the original.——The great hiſtorian ſeems to collect facts for the ſole purpoſe of giving lectures on morality, and relates only that he may have an opportunity and a pretence for his reflections. A plan of this nature is inconſiſtent with hiſtorical accuracy, and it hath neceſſarily confuſed his different recitals. The principal public events are often abandoned, or barely touched upon, that more pains may be taken with the private life of the Hero; but it muſt at the ſame time be acknowledged, that the Monarch's inclinations and his character are diſtinctly marked, notwithſtanding the hiſtorian's viſible partiality for him, and the many fables that eſcape from him.——Aware of the probability of being accuſed of an exceſſive minuteneſs in his details; he endeavours to explain away the objection in ſome preliminary remarks, which may ſerve as a preface to the lives of Alexander and of Cæſar, "We ſhall only premiſe, that we hope for indulgence though we do not give the actions in full detail and with a ſcrupulous exactneſs, but rather in a ſhort ſummary; ſince we are not writing hiſtories

but

but lives. Nor is it always in the moſt diſtinguiſhed achievements that men's virtues or vices may be beſt diſcerned; but very often an action of ſmall note, a ſhort ſaying, or a jeſt, ſhall diſtinguiſh a perſon's real character more than the greateſt ſieges or the moſt important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeneſs in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind moſt appears, and run over the reſt with a more careleſs hand; ſo we muſt be permitted to ſtrike off the features of the ſoul, in order to give a real likeneſs of theſe great men, and leave to others the circumſtantial detail of their labours and achievements."[k]

Amongſt many other authors, Calliſthenes, Ariſtobulus, and Oneſicritus appear to have furniſhed Plutarch with his materials for the life of Alexander.——His parallel of this Prince with Cæſar hath unfortunately periſhed, but Appian, who in fact merely compiled his work from Plutarch's hiſtorical productions, hath in ſome meaſure ſupplied the loſs by the compariſon, that he

[k] Langhorn's Plutarch, Vol. 4.--223. "Ουδεν αλλο προερουμεν, η παραιτησομεθα τους αναγινωσκοντας, εαν μη παντα, μηδε καθ' ἑκαστον εξειργασμενος τι των περιβοητων απαγγελλομεν, αλλα επιτεμνοντες τα πλειστα, μη συκοφαντειν· ουτε γαρ ἱστοριας γραφομεν, αλλα βιους· ουτε ταις επιφανεσταις πραξεσι παντως ἐνεστι δηλωσις αρετης η κακιας, αλλα πραγμα βραχυ πολλακις και ρημα, και παιδια τις εμφασιν ηθους εποιησεν μαλλον, η μαχαι μυριονεκροι, και παρασκευαι αι μεγισται, και πολιορκια πολεων· ὡς περ ουν οι ζωγραφοι τας ὁμοιοτητας απο τε προσωπου, και των περι την ὀψιν ειδων, ὁις εμφαινεται το ηθος, αναλαμβανουσιν, ελαχιστα των λοιπων μερων φροντιζοντες· ουτως, ἡμιν δοτεον εις τα της ψυχης σημεια μαλλον ενδυεσθαι, και δια τουτων ειδοποιειν τον ἑκαστου βιον, εασαντας ἑτεροις τα μεγεθη και τους αγωνας." Plutarch, de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.–664. 665.

he hath left us of the two Conquerors, which is apparently an extract.[1]

Two diſcourſes concerning Alexander remain to be taken notice of, that have been attributed to this philoſophical hiſtorian. In the firſt, the Macedonian Prince is ſuppoſed to anſwer the reproaches of fortune for the obligations, which ſhe had conferred upon him, from whom he is unwilling to acknowledge that he had received any favours. The Monarch is afterwards compared to the moſt eminent philoſophers: his words and actions are ſaid to have been formed on the pureſt principles, and his practice to have been ſuperior to the theory of their firſt and moſt celebrated ſchools.

The ſecond contains only a flat and fulſome panegyric on nearly the ſame ſubject, in the form of a tedious and inſipid diſſertation. Its author is determined to prove his Hero ſuperior to the fickle deity, who is repreſented as Alexander's implacable enemy; but ſome circumſtances are introduced, that have no connection with the object immediately in view, and particularly thoſe concerning Dionyſius of Syracuſe, and Clearchus the tyrant of Heraclea. The Macedonian Monarch is made to rival Agamemnon, and the iſſue of the conteſt may be eaſily divined.

[1] "Αμφω γαρ γενεσθην φιλοτιμοτατω τε παντων και πολεμικωτατω, και τα δοξαντα επελθειν ταχυτατω, περος τε κινδυνους παραβολωτατω, και τε σωματος αφειδεστατω, και ε στρατηγια πεποιθοτε μαλλον, η τολμη και τυχη·" Appian. Hiſt. Rom. de bellis civilibus. Lib. 2.--849. Ed. 8vo Amſt. 1670. Where the parallel is continued to a great length.

With the ancients indeed, as well as the moderns, this rhetorical figure ſeems to have been adopted, as an eaſier method of adding to their Hero's reputation, or the indirect means of raiſing it at the prejudice of the character, which is brought into competition with it.—Whoever may have been the author of the latter treatiſe, it contradicts moſt certainly Plutarch in many inſtances; and from thence it may be inferred to have been rather ſome later ſophiſt's, who wiſhed to give it ſome little credit by paſſing it on the public for Plutarch's. The catalogue which Lamprias, the ſon of Plutarch, hath given us of all his father's works, in which only one of theſe diſcourſes on the fortune of Alexander, is mentioned, probably a juvenile performance, ſeems to ſtrengthen this ſuppoſition.——From the life of Alexander, Plutarch hath an undoubted right to a diſtinguiſhed rank amongſt this Prince's hiſtorians, and he may juſtly be conſidered as the ſecond author on the ſubject. Many of the tranſactions, which he relates, may be very ſerviceable in determining our opinions of the character of the Conqueror of Aſia; but ſtill the writer's prepoſſeſſions muſt be guarded againſt, and what he advances muſt be received with caution, where the accuracy is of any moment.

Diodorus Siculus, a native of Agyria in Sicily, flouriſhed under Julius Cæſar: any further inquiries concerning his perſon or his writings would be ſuperfluous.[m] Pliny tells us, that he was the firſt Grecian author who turned his thoughts towards ſerious things,

[m] See Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græcis. Lib. 11. C. 11.—Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Lib. 3. C. 31.

things, and abandoned trifling ones;[n] but this judgment is certainly a ſtrange one, as the firſt five books of this hiſtorian are full of fables. Being ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the doctrines of Euemerus,[o] he ranſacked the annals of various nations, and collected their religious traditions to ſtrengthen only, by their authority, his own erroneous ſyſtem. The firſt books of Diodorus Siculus, precious as they are from the facts which they have preſerved, are ſtill replete with a multitude of conjectures and contradictions, that greatly reduce their value; and in the deſcription of the countries that he mentions, he appears in general both a credulous naturaliſt, and an ignorant philoſopher. Sometimes he doubts apparently of the truth of what he relates, whilſt he does not heſitate immediately afterwards to give credit to the moſt extravagant abſurdities. Under this impreſſion, it is not unfair to ſuſpect his accuracy; and it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that he hath miſrepreſented the ſeveral authors, to whom he was indebted for his information, from the manner that a paſſage of Herodotus relative to the Medes hath ſuffered in his hands, which

[n] "Que cet ecrivain eſt le premier parmi les Grecs, que ſe ſoit occupe de choſes ſerieuſes, et qui ait abandonne les bagatelles." I am in doubt whether the "Apud Græcos deſiit mugari Diodorus, et βιβλιοθηκης hiſtoriam ſuam inſcripſit." (Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 1. Tom. 1.--10.) warrants this aſſertion in its extended ſenſe.

[o] A philoſopher of the Cyrenaic ſect, for an account of whom, ſee Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græcis, Chap. 11.—De Poetis Græcis, Chap. 8.—Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Tom. 1. Lib. 3. Chap. 28.--694, 717.—Bruckeri, Hiſt. Crit. Philoſ. Tom. 1. P. 2. Lib. 2. Chap. 3. de ſectâ Cyrenaicâ, 604, 606.—and alſo, Dr. Enfield's valuable hiſtory of Philoſophy, Vol. 1. 189. with the authors referred to.

may be compared with the original.[p] We are at a loſs for the motives on which the Roman naturaliſt founded his favourable ſentiments of Diodorus, but perhaps he formed his opinion of the work from its preface. It offers to us, without a doubt, a correct plan of a great ſtyle of hiſtory; but unfortunately the interior parts of the edifice do not by any means correſpond with its external magnificence and grandeur. In the other books, after a long excurſion, he confines himſelf more cloſely to his ſubject, and there are fewer defects to be obſerved, or faults to cenſure. Yet the diſtance between this author and the ancient hiſtorians of Greece is ſtill great, and the interval, that ſeparates them, is immenſe.

The ſeventeenth book relates more particularly to Alexander, but the ſtyle is paltry, and the reflections, though few, are trivial. Diodorus Siculus never refers to any authority for the truth of what he advances; there are not any of the ſources mentioned from whence he derived his intelligence; he is often inexact; and is not happy in the arrangement of his facts. In the firſt part of this book, which contains the events previous to the battle of Gaugamele, more pains have been beſtowed, and more care hath certainly been taken: in the latter, an uncommon degree of negligence is very viſible, and there is great difficulty in diſcovering any connection of the facts, and preſerving the order of the marches

[p] Hiſtoire de l'Acad. des Inſcript. et des Belles Lettres. Tom. 23.--31.

marches and expeditions of the Macedonian army. Chronology is alſo totally overturned, and the chaſm in it naturally augments the obſcurity, that ariſes from this confuſion. The Scythian war, the Sogdian revolt, the death of Clitus with that of Calliſthenes, the marriage of Roxana, and the early part of the Indian expedition are wanting in the text of Diodorus Siculus, and there hath not been any manuſcript yet diſcovered, by which the deficiency hath been repaired.

Truths and *falſehoods* are generally told in the ſame tone by Diodorus Siculus, who ſeems neither ſolicitous to dazzle, nor anxious to ſurpriſe. If he poſſeſſes the merit of being directed in ſome moments by able and experienced conductors; at others, he hath wandered unconcernedly with Calliſthenes, and hath faithfully copied his fabulous extravagances.[p] Notwithſtanding theſe objections, this part of Diodorus Siculus may be uſeful in aſcertaining many events of Alexander's life; and with a proper and continued attention, ſome real advantages may be reaped from it. Taking the whole together, Diodorus Siculus appears to be entitled to the third place amongſt the Conqueror's hiſtorians.

The Latin authors, who undertook the hiſtory of Alexander, had not the benefit of happier times than the Grecian writers, who

[q] See Diodorus Siculus, Tom. 2.--218. and Weſſeling's note on the "Ὁ καλειται μεν Ανθρηδων·" and alſo Tom. 2.--230. with Weſſeling's notes on the "Ὀντας ἑκκαιδεκαπηκεις·" and the "Των δε κυνηγων·"

who preceded them in the ſame career, and whoſe materials they employed. That verboſe and tumid ſpecies of eloquence, which paſſed out of Aſia to Athens, and like a malignant ſtar had ſpread its contagious influence[r] amidſt all the young men of ingenuity and talents, made its way at laſt to the Roman citizens, who were then governed with a rod of iron.——A rage for declamation ruined the public taſte, and added to it the laſt corruption, that it could poſſibly receive. Far from imitating the ſchools, where only the figures of the firſt and fineſt forms, and thoſe of the beſt muſcular proportions, are introduced as models,[s] the Romans contemplated in preference the ſervile attitude of ſome effeminate and affected courtier, and eagerly adopted a correſponding frivolous and unmanly method of expreſſion. To the ſpecies of hiſtory immediately before us, the prevailing faſhion was ſoon extended; and the Satiriſt Juvenal addreſſed himſelf to its admirers in the following paſſage.

"What luckier fate
Does on the works of grave hiſtorians wait?
More time they ſpend, in greater toils engage;
Their volumes ſwell beyond the thouſandth page:
For

[r] Ventoſa iſthæc et enormis loquacitas ex Aſiâ commigravit, animoſque juvenum ad magna ſurgentes, veluti peſtilenti quodam ſidere afflavit. Petron. Arbit. Chap. 2.--11.

[s] "An vero ſtatuarum artifices, pictoreſque clariſſimi cum corpora ſpecioſiſſima fingendo, pingendove efficere cuperent, nunquam in hanc inciderunt errorem, ut Bagoam aut Megabyzum aliquem in exemplum operis ſumerent ſibi, ſed Doriphoron illum aptum vel militiæ vel paleſtræ, aliorumque juvenum bellicoſorum et athletarum corpora, quæ eſſe decora vere exiſtimarint."
Quintilian, Inſt. orat. Lib. 5. Chap. 12.--245.

For thus the laws of hiſtory command,
And much good paper ſuffers in their hand."[t]

DRYDEN'S TRANSLATION.

It was perhaps by theſe hiſtorical amplifications that Q. Curtius was ſeduced.——The learned world hath been much divided as to the exact period, in which this hiſtorian lived; and it has been ſuppoſed, though the ſuppoſition can have only few advocates, that he wrote his hiſtory in the laſt years of Conſtantine the Great.[w] Voſſius fixes it with more probability under the reign of Veſpaſian,[x] and the learned Tillemont,[y] in that of Claudius; but without any deciſion of this queſtion, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the ſtyle leaves us not any room to doubt of its being written, when the public taſte was on its decline.

Father Tellier, of ſome memory, accuſes Q. Curtius of having frequently reverſed the order of geography and hiſtory; of an ignorance of tactics; of indiſcriminately ſubſcribing to truth and falſehood without either the inclination or abilities to ſeparate them;

[t] "Veſter porro labor fœcundior, hiſtoriarum
Scriptores: petitur plus temporis atque olei plus:
Namque oblita modi milleſima pagina ſurgit
Omnibus, et creſcit multa damnoſa papyro.
Sic ingens rerum numerus jubet, atque operum lex."

Juvenalis, Sat. 7. Lib. 3.--98.

[w] L'Hiſtorico Ragionamento della gente Curzia et dell'eta di Q. Curzio, del Conte Bagnolo.

[x] G. Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. Lib. 1. Chap. 33.

[y] Hiſt. des Emper. 370.

them; of attaching himſelf rather to probabilities than realities; of affecting little pointed witticiſms, and ridiculous ſubtilties in his maxims; and in ſhort, of laviſhing a profuſion of poetical flowers in his deſcriptions; and converting his harangues into declamations.[z] This is a judgment which carries no inconſiderable ſhare of cenſure, but it is the judgment of a commentator, and we cannot reaſonably tax it with extraordinary ſeverity. Yet we muſt not refuſe to Q. Curtius the merits of a brilliant and fruitful imagination; of a warm and pictureſque mode of colouring; and of a grace and energy, which hardly any of the modern languages can make their own.——The ſpeeches of the perſons, that he brings forward on the ſtage, are not ever without intereſt, and they are ſometimes moving and pathetic. Theſe are beauties, which would certainly command our approbation in any other work, where the ſtern auſterity of hiſtory did not conſider them as inadmiſſible.

Q. Curtius ingenuouſly avows, that he hath tranſcribed more events than he believed, and that he meant not to be reſponſible for thoſe of which he doubted, but was unwilling to ſuppreſs.[a] After

[z] "Geographiæ nonnunquam et hiſtoriæ rationes turbaſſe; parum ſcienter in præliis deſcribendis fuiſſe verſatum; non ſatis accurato delectu vera diſcreviſſe â falſis; ſpecioſa magis, quam certiora, ſectatum eſſe; ſententiarum aculeos affectaſſe pluſculum; deſcriptionibus quandoque poeticos flores; orationibus declamatorium colorem adſperciſſe!" Præf. in edit. Q. Curtii, ad uſum Delphini.

[a] "Equidem plura tranſcribo quam credo: nam nec affirmare ſuſtineo, de quibus dubito; nec ſubducere quæ accepi." Q. Curtius, Lib. 9. Chap. 1. Tom. 2.--676.

After ſuch an acknowledged intimation, have we to expect any thing but a monſtrous and mixed aſſemblage of truth and falſehood? Many learned men have imagined that he borrowed moſt of his relations from Diodorus Siculus, but it ſeems more probable, that Clitarchus, an author well known to the Romans, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in Cicero and Pliny, had been equally copied by theſe hiſtorians.——Q. Curtius however only cites him twice: in the firſt inſtance it is to refute Ptolemy. The valuable memoirs of this illuſtrious ſucceſſor of Alexander were then, it ſeems, in being; but led aſtray by his love of the marvellous and a fondneſs for fables, Q. Curtius had given the preference to the recitals of Clitarchus, which agreed more with his own character and genius.

We are told that Nero gilt the ſtatue of Alexander by Lyſippus imagining to enhance its value:[b] Q. Curtius acted on the ſame principle, when he ſuppoſed that the flowers of his imagination would add a freſh wreath of glory to Alexander's laurels. But the Hero and the Artiſt loſt by theſe fooliſh decorations.—— The Roman hiſtorian gives way to an exceſſive paſſion for deſcriptions; and without conſidering whether they are connected with the incidents of which he treats, he frequently introduces

 them

[b] "Fecit et Alexandrum Magnum.—Quam ſtatuam inaurari juſſit Nero princeps, delectatus admodum illa. Dein cum pretio periſſet gratia artis, detractum eſt aurum: pretioſiorque talis exiſtimatur, etiam cicatricibus operis atque conciſuris, in quibus aurum hæſerat, remanentibus." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 34. C. 19. Tom. 5.--117. 4to Par. 1685.

them abruptly. In endeavouring to make his pictures brilliant they are incorrect: in attempting to enrich them, they become confused. When Lucian, in his directions for hiſtorical compoſition, recommended a ſober chaſtity of expreſſion in the account of mountains and rivers,[c] the ingenious critic in all likelihood had Q. Curtius before his eye, and particularly the epiſodical details, into which he enters reſpecting the courſes of the rivers Marſyas,[d] Paſitigris,[e] and Zioberis in Hyrcania,[f] which engroſſed his attention in preference to events of real conſequence. From an inſatiable fondneſs for theſe deſcriptions many important circumſtances are neglected; and the war between Alexander and the nephew of King Porus is ſcarcely noticed,[g] though both Arrian and Strabo have mentioned it.—In the laſt two books, he paſſes indeed with ſuch rapidity from one tranſaction to another, that we have reaſon to apprehend many eſſential facts have been either totally forgotten, or very much neglected.—— The ſeaſons, in which the different events happened, are only marked

[c] "Μαλιϛα δε σωφρονητεον εν ταις των ορων, η τειχων, η ποταμων ἑρμενειαις, ὡς μη δυναμιν λογων απειροκαλως παρεπιδεικνυσθαι δοκοιης, ϗ το σαυτε δραν, παρεις την ἰϛοριαν." Lucian. Quom. Hiſt. conſcrip. C. 57. Tom. 2.--65.

[d] Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--52.

[e] ——— Lib. 5. C. 3. Tom. 1.--328.

[f] ——— Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--406.

[g] "Hinc Poro amnique ſuperato." (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 1. Tom. 2.--670.) See Frienſheim's note upon the paſſage.

marked in a vague and obſcure manner,[h] and of the ſeveral years we have not any indication whatever, but this diſorder proceeds from his inaccuracy. Still is he leſs attentive to any geographical information,[i] and his authority in this reſpect may be with ſtrict propriety rejected, whilſt the explication, that he hath given of the eclipſe of the moon, before the battle of Gaugamele, proves inconteſtably his ignorance of the common principles of aſtronomy.[k]—Adding to theſe obſervations the fables and exaggerations

[h] The Baron de *St.* Croix hath produced the expreſſion of "Sub ipſum Vergiliarum ſidus," (Lib. 5. Chap. 6. Tom. 1.--352.) as one inſtance of the uncertainty and obſcurity of Q. Curtius. The Commentators have been much divided as to this expreſſion, and have doubted, whether the riſing or the ſetting of the Pleiades was to be underſtood. Their ſetting is now generally ſuppoſed to be intended, and indeed the paſſage of Plutarch in his life of Alexander, "Βελομενος δε τες ςρατιωτας ανακλαβειν (και γαρ ην χειμων& ὡρα) τεσσαρες μηνας αυτοθι διηγαγεν" (Tom. 1. 686.) ſeems to elucidate it very plainly, as Pliny informs us the "Vergiliarum occaſus hyemem inchoat, quod tempus in 3. Id. Novembris incidere conſuevit." Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 2. Chap. 47. Tom. 1.--200.

[i] "De Curtio non laboramus, ſæpe in geographicis aberrante." Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. Tom. 2.--3. Le Clerc with more ſeverity ſays, "Immania etiam ſunt peccata, quæ in eum admiſit Curtius." Clerici Ind. de Curtio, Ars Critica. Tom. 2.--433.

[k] Monſ. Dupuy remarks that Q. Curtius, "Apres avoir decrit la conſternation qui repandit dans l'armée d'Alexandre une eclipſe de lune, obſerve que les divins Egyptiens, que ce prince fit conſulter, ſavoient fort bien la raiſon de ce phenomene, mais qu'ils tenoient cachée au vulgaire." "At illi," "ce ſont ſes paroles," "qui fatis ſcirent temporum orbes implere deſtinatas vices, lunamque deficere quam aut terra ſubiret, aut ſole pemeretur, rationem quidem ipſis perceptam non edocent vulgus." (Lib. 4. Chap. 10. Tom. 1.--241.) "L'Hiſtorien a-t-il eû une idée bien nette de la cauſe des eclipſes lunaires? Il ſemble, à l'entendre, que la lune peut s'eclipſer en deux cas; ou lorſque "terram ſubit," ou lorſque "premitur â ſole." On peut donner un bon ſens a la premiere expreſſion, parce qu'effectivement la lune s'eclipſe lorſqu'elle paſſe ſous la terre, "terram ſubit," qui eſt entre elle et le ſoleil: mais qu'a-t-il pretendu, lorſqu'il a dit que la lune ſouffre eclipſe "cum ſole premitur," lorſqu'elle eſt preſſée par le ſoleil. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 29.--324.

The

ſo familiar to him, perhaps there is not a ſingle author of antiquity, that ſhould be read with more reſerve, or with greater care againſt the ſeductions of his language. His evidence for theſe reaſons is to be received with very limited credit, and cannot poſſibly be oppoſed to that of the other hiſtorians of Alexander, and of Arrian in particular.

Juſtin, who may be referred to the age of Antoninus Pius,[1] hath left us an abridgment of the more extenſive compilation of Trogus Pompeius; but he ſigns his own ſentence of condemnation, in his preſervation of the order and method of the original. Confuſion in the narrative, and inaccuracy in the facts are the common faults of this Latin writer, who hath devoted the eleventh and twelfth chapters of his work to the exploits of Alexander. Preciſion

The Jeſuit Rader hath endeavoured to vindicate the hiſtorian, and to explain his meaning. "Curtius non rudis matheſeos, phyſicas rationes adfert defectionis lunæ, unam cum terram ſubit, alteram cum ſole premitur. Una efficit eclipſem, altera ſilentium lunæ. Eclipſis fit in plenilunio, ſilentium in novilunio. Terram ſubit, cum in umbram terræ incurrit, non cum deſcendit ad inferius cælum, infra finitorem, quem Græci Ὁριζοντα dicunt. Sole premeretur, ſicut et ipſa viciſſim ſolem premit, cum ſol infra terram eſt, et luna ſupra recto libramento, cum in umbrâ terræ eſt, unde fortaſſe, eſt quod Lucretius dixit:

"——Et oppreſſum ſolem ſuper ipſâ tenere."

(Lucret. Lib. 5.–762.)

Quamvis Lucretius de terrâ interjectâ loquatur." (Q. Curtius Raderi, 203.) But with all his ſubtilty, though we may allow of the poetic licence of the

"Defectus ſolis varios lunæque labores,"

(Virgil. Georg. Lib. 2.–478.)

in the cold and correct page of Hiſtory, the expreſſion is an aukward one.

[1] G. Voſſius, de hiſt. Lat. Lib. 1. Chap. 31.

ciſion ought indiſpenſably to characterize an abridgment of every denomination, but when he ſpeaks of Alexander's actions, he is extremely ſuperficial. Excluſive of theſe defects, his authority is very queſtionable, in compariſon with that of the other hiſtorians of the Macedonian Monarch, that have been already mentioned, the text is very incorrect; and the names of the towns and people, that he hath introduced, are disfigured to a degree that renders them almoſt unintelligible.

The Lower Empire memorable for its darkneſs, its barbarity and ſuperſtition, hath notwithſtanding produced ſome authors, that have taken notice of Alexander. Exceptionable as their teſtimony is, even when relating to the events, of which they were ſpectators, undoubtedly it deſerves leſs credit reſpecting thoſe, which paſſed in more remote ages, and in times previous to their exiſtence. There is not therefore any light to be procured from them, relative to any public tranſactions before the tranſlation of the ſeat of Empire; and their performances are in general crude and ill-digeſted compilations, ſcraped together without learning, and collected without taſte.

George Syncellus makes Alexander to arrive in the middle of Aſſyria[m] immediately after the engagement at Iſſus, and places Arbela and

[m] "Εν Ισσω της Κιλικιας αυτω πολεμει Δαρειω· και τελευταιον εισω χωρει της Ασσυριας·" G. Syncellus, 210. Folio. Venet. 1729.

and the field of battle known under its name in Media;[n] and aſſures us, that this Prince having reached Caucaſus, reduced all the neighbouring barbarous nations under his ſubjection as far as the Palus Mæotis,[o] and that after this expedition he extended his conqueſts over India, and came to the Ganges.[p]——Such is the accuracy of the writers of the Lower Empire!

From the multifarious additions, with which the Lexicon of Suidas hath been gradually loaden, many groſs errors have been inſerted in it; and as the article of Alexander[q] itſelf is not exempt

[n] "Η εν Αρβηλοις της Μηδικης ηχθη μαχη." G. Syncellus. 208.

[o] The French text ſtands as follows, "Et nous aſſure que ce prince partit des Palus Mæotis." but Syncellus ſays, "Γενομενος δε και εν Καυκασω κρατει των αυτοθι βαρβαρων μεχρι Μαιωτιδος λιμνης ελθων" (G. Syncellus. 210.) which has a very different import, and I have adopted it.

[p] "Κακειθεν μεταχωρησας, επι τους Ινδους παντος τε κρατησας εθνους Ινδικου μεχρι ποταμου Γαγγου παλιν αναξευγνυσι δια τω Ινδω ποταμω μεχρι της Ινδικης θαλασσης." (G. Syncellus. 210.) Both theſe paſſages are to be found in the ſame words in Euſebius, Χρονικων. Lib. 1.--57.

[q] The account of Alexander hath moſt certainly increaſed in magnitude and length as it deſcended. The Baron de St. Croix conſiders the whole of it from the "Ὁτι Αλεξανδρος ὁ Μακεδων" to the "Αυτος οκτασιοις ανδρασιν" (Suidas, Tom. 1.--102.) as an interpolation, and it muſt be allowed, it bears ſtrong ſymptoms of ſuſpicion. Roxana, he judiciouſly obſerves, is there ſaid to be the daughter of Darius, which is a direct contradiction of what Suidas had before advanced, where ſhe is called the daughter of Oxyartes; that the adventure of Candace is evidently taken from the chronicle of Malala; that the anecdote concerning the muſic of Timotheus occurs in the ſame words under "Τιμοθεως," which is the proper place for it; and that the paſſage reſpecting the naval victory over the Lacedæmonians, the ſtructure of the wall round the Piræus, and the feſtival given to the Athenians, as copied from Athenæus, and to be found again in the ſame words under "Αθηναιοι," (Suidas, Tom. 1.--71.) had been applied to Alexander by ſome ignorant

empt from them, it can be of but little ſervice to us in the hiſtory of this Prince.

Cedrenus hath entered into details of ſome length on the Macedonian Monarch's expedition. And he ſuppoſes him after the reduction of Judea and the capture of Cyrene, to have marched into Egypt, and from thence by a branch of the Nile to have advanced into Aſſyria, preſſed on towards Paropamiſus and the country watered by the Thermodon, and penetrated afterwards to Phaſis,[r] the Straits of Gibraltar, and even into Britain.[s]—— The whole geography of the ancient world is by this means totally deranged, and there is not even the leaſt hiſtorical reſemblance attempted to be preſerved. Amongſt theſe events, he takes care however, to report Alexander's viſit to Jeruſalem, with the

ignorant tranſcriber, (the name of Conon having been accidentally effaced) and afterwards added to Suidas. Kaſter, in his note on the word "Αλεξανδρος," (Suidas, Tom. 1.--103.) admits the falſity of theſe laſt aſſertions, but in that on the word "Αθηναιος," (Suidas, Tom. 1.--71.) he doubts whether Suidas or ſome of his copyiſts are reſponſible for it. "Quæ hic de Alexandro Magno referantur, Athenæus, unde locus Suidæ depromptus eſt, Cononi et quidem recte tribuit. Ratio diverſitatis eſt, quod apud Suidam omiſſa ſint verba quædam (ipſiuſne Suidæ an vero aliorum culpa haud facile dixeris) quæ apud Athenæum leguntur." Theſe interpolations the Baron de St. Croix hath laid to the charge of the writers of the middle age, who borrowed liberally from the oriental authors, and he adds that the contradictory ſtatement of Roxana's birth was an Eaſtern tradition, ariſing from the Perſian name of Rawſhanc (the daughter of Darius, and married to Alexander, according to Abulpharagius) which had been confounded with that of Roxana, from ſome little ſimilitude in the pronunciation.

[r] In Cedrenus, Phaſis is called Aphaſis. "Εκειθεν δε προς Αφασιν και Γαδειρα, και τα βρεττανικα εθνη γενομενος." G. Cedrenus, 321.

[s] G. Cedrenus, 151, 152. 153.

the principal circumſtances imagined by the Jews, and with expreſſions,[t] that cannot reaſonably be attributed to Dexippus,[w] devoted to Polytheiſm, of a ſacerdotal family, and a prieſt himſelf ſingularly zealous and attached to his own creed.——Scaliger hath apparently deceived himſelf in the ſuppoſition that the author of theſe recitals was Dexippus; but this great ſcholar did not recollect that Cedrenus only cites[x] this celebrated writer on Alexander's

[t] "Επι την Ιωδαιαν ελθων, και ταυτην ἑλων, ὑπο τε Αρχιερεως Αδδω τιμηθεις θυσας τω Θεω· ὡς παρ' αυτε την οικεμενην τροσειληφως·" G. Cedrenus, 121.

[w] Publius Herennius Dexippus lived in the 3rd age of the vulgar era, and was in rotation honoured with all the principal offices at Athens. He was celebrated alſo as a rhetorician and hiſtorian, and acquired a very extenſive reputation from his literary labours. On the ſubject of univerſal hiſtory, his application was unwearied, and with a ſort of intuitive ſagacity he penetrated into the inmoſt and obſcureſt receſſes of antiquity. His children were authorized, by a decree of the Areopagus and the council of 750, to erect a monument to his glory, and the inſcription ſtill ſubſiſts.

"Οικοθεν ἱερεα Παναγη·——
Και αγωνοθετησαντα των μεγαλων Παναθηναιων
Ανδρας αγακλειτες τετροφε Κεκροπιη
Ων ενακας Δεξιππον, ὁς ἱστοριαν εσαθρησας
Αιωνος δολιχην ατρεκεως εφασεν
Και τα μεν αυτος επειδε ταδ' εκ βιβλων αναλεξας
Ηυρατο παντοιην ἱστοριης ατραπον
Η μεγακλεινος ανηρ ὁς νε απο μυριον ομμα
Εκτεινας, χρονιες πρηξιας εξεμαθεν."

Ed. Chandler, Inſcript. Antiq. Pars 2.–56. Oxon. Folio. 1774.

[x] The Baron de St. Croix obſerves that on a compariſon of St. Jerom's tranſlation of the chronicle of Euſebius, with the pretended Greek text, which Scaliger uſhered under his name into the world, the conviction will naturally follow, that many of its ſupplemental parts are flagrant contradictions of Euſebius. Cedrenus, according to his opinion only cites Dexippus concerning the education of Alexander. The learned reader will exerciſe his own judgment on the paſſage,

ander's education, and that the reſt of what relates to this Prince cannot be conſidered as an extract, and much leſs as a fragment of

I

paſſage, with the introductory and following ſentences. "Αρτι δε τε Φιλιππε τε παιδος Αλεξανδρε επι την ακμην της ηλικιας προελθοντος, οι πρωτοι των Μακεδονων αυτον αιρουνται εις βασιλεια· επι δε εις την αρχην προηλθεν Αλεξανδρος, κατ' αμφοιν το γενος εστεμνυνεν· εδε γαρ εξιν ευρειν εν παντι τω κοσμω ανδρα τοσετοις κατορθωμασι πλεονεκτουντα· ως γαρ Δεξιππος ἱστορει, πασαν ασκησιν ησκηθη σωματικην Αριστοτελες γνησιωτατος γεγονως φοιτητης, εις το λογες αριστος και εις εργα επαινεμενος ευρεθη· τα δε πολεμικα θαυμαστως υπελθων πειθες αξια διεπραξετο· Βασιλευσας γαρ χρονες οκτω, τες Μακεδονας και Ιλλυριας, και Θρακας υπεταξε, την Ἑλλαδα κατεστρεψε· και τες τε πατρος φονεας τιμωρησαμενος, και τους Παιονας αποταξας επι την Ασιαν διαπερα· και την Πριαμε πολιν, και τας εν Λυδια Σαρδεις υποταξας επι Κιλικιαν αφικνειται." (Cedrenus. 121.) In Scaliger's edition of the chronicle of Euſebius, the account of Alexander's entry into Judea and his interview with the Jewiſh high prieſt, is there introduced with "Εκ τε Δεξιππε· Αλεξανδρος Ιλλυριες και Θρακας ειλε· Θηβας κατεσκαψε τε Δαρειε στρατηγες επι Γρανικω ποταμε Λυδων ενικησε, Σαρδεις ειλε· Τυρον επολιορκησεν· Ιεδαιαν προσελαβετο, και τον αρχιερεα Ιαδδεν ετιμησε θυσας τω Θεω ὡς παρ αυτε οικεμενην ὁμολογων παρειληφεναι." (Κρονικων. Lib. 1.—56, 57.) There is a detail afterwards of many circumſtances concerning the Macedonian Monarch, which is alſo prefaced with the "Εκ τε Δεξιππε," and ſwells to ſome extent. I am ignorant of the preciſe authority on which Scaliger ſuppoſed them to be extracts from Dexippus, but being printed within inverted commas, they carry with them every typographical appearance of quotations. In ſupport however of the Baron de St. Croix's opinion, it may be obſerved that the expreſſion "ὡς γαρ Δεξιππος ἱστορει," does not imply an exact quotation, but in a larger ſenſe may ſignify that the relation correſponded with that of Dexippus. Syncellus alſo firſt ſpeaks of Alexander's entry into Judea and his interview with the Jewiſh high prieſt, without ſaying any thing of Dexippus. To quote the paſſage would be to repeat that already cited from Euſebius, for it is literally the ſame, with the ſingle exception of "Ιαδδες" inſtead of "Ιαδδεν." He then relates ſome farther particulars of Alexander, and gives a ſort of hiſtory of the Heraclides, and of various other perſons and events, and returning to the Macedonian Monarch, he tells us, "Αλεξανδρος ουν κ αγων ετος, κατα Δεξιππον, πασαν ασκησιν ησκημενος σωματικην, αυτε τε γνησιωτατος Αριστοτελες γενονως του δαιμονιωντος φοιτητης επι την πατρωαν παρηλθε βασιλειαν" (Syncellus, 210.) It is remarkable that the ſame paſſage occurs in Euſebius, (Κρονικων. Lib. 1--57.) and that the three accounts of Alexander's entry into Judea, and his interview with the Jewiſh high prieſt by the hiſtorians, that have been referred to, are delivered in nearly the ſame words, from which there ariſes a ſtrong inference that they copied them from ſome other writer. The "Θυσας τω Θεω, ὡς παρ αυτε οικεμενην, &c." is to be found in all of them, but Cedrenus makes the high prieſt "Αδδω," inſtead of "Ιαδδεν." Euſebius and Syncellus give us "Τον αρχιερεα ετιμησε," but Cedrenus, with a greater allowance for human fears and apprehenſions, hath "Υπο τε Αρχιερεως τιμηθεις."

of Dexippus, whom Photius[y] hath not ſcrupled to compare with Thucydides.

Paulus Oroſius can only be reckoned the copyiſt of Juſtin, and Zonares[z] in his turn ſeems to have derived his information from Diodorus Siculus. His abridgment however of Alexander's expeditions is not without merit, and is more correct, than might have been expected from a writer of the twelfth century, who quitted a court from ſuperſtitious motives, to bury himſelf within a cloiſter. With the productions of theſe writers, the works of Euſebius of Cæſarea are not to be confounded, and important both to literature and to religion, they have undoubted pretenſions to particular diſtinction. Yet it muſt not be diſſembled, that his diſcernment was not always equal to his erudition.[a]——This laborious writer is not very exact in his chronicle concerning Alexander, and it was after the death of Darius, according to his ideas, that the Grecian Hero made himſelf the maſter of Babylon,[b] notwithſtanding it was previous to the aſſaſſination of the Perſian Monarch. Euſebius informs us alſo, that the Macedonian Prince having ſubdued the Hyrcanians and the Medes, returned and founded

y "Εστι δε την φρασιν απερίττος τε, και ογκω και αξιωματι χαιρων, και (ὡς αν τις ειποι) αλλ' ου μετα τινος σαφηνειας Θυκυδιδης." Photii Biblioth. 200.

z Zonares. Annales, 137, 148.

a "Πολυμαθης δε εστιν ὁ ανηρ, ει μη την αἰσχινοιαν μη το σαθηρον τω ηθει, ὡς παρα την ακριβειαν την εν τοις δογμασιν ενδεεστερος." Photii Biblioth. 12.

b "Obtinuit Babylonem interfecto Dario." Euſebius, 34.

founded Parætonium [c] in the country of Ammon; but this city was in being before Alexander, [d] and he never returned from the extremities of the Eaſt into Lybia.

Athenagoras, [e] and after him St. Auguſtin [f] and St. Cyprian, [g] relate, that Alexander informed his mother by letter, that the prieſts of Heliopolis, of Memphis, and of Thebes, had confeſſed to him, that their gods were originally men, whom they had deified; [h] a ſentiment diſproved by the evidence of the prieſts themſelves, [i] and which could not poſſibly be conciliated with the eſſence of Egyptianiſm.

St.

[c] "Alexander Hyrcanos et Medos capit: revertens in Ammone condidit Parætonium." Euſebius. 34. See Scaliger's note on this paſſage. Scaligeri Animad. ad Euſebium. 126.

[d] Scylax. Peripl. 40. apud geograp. minores. Tom. 1.

[e] Legat. pro Chriſt. ad Cal. St. Juſtin. 325.

[f] De Civitate Dei. L. 8, 6, 27. L. 12, 6. 10.

[g] "Hoc ita eſſe Alexander Magnus inſigni volumine ad matrem ſuam ſcribit. Metu ſuâ poteſtatis proditum ſibi de Diis hominibus â ſacerdotibus ſecretum: quod majorum et regum memoria ſervata ſit, inde colendi et ſacrificandi ritus inſolverit." St. Cyprian, de Idd. Vauit. 9. Amſt. Folio. 1700.

[h] This opinion however hath been formally attacked by one, who hath looked deep into antiquity. "On a pretendu qu'ils avoient etabli pour faire voir que les Dieux etoient tous des hommes, qui avoient eté deifiés a cauſe des ſervices, qu'ils avoient rendûs au genre humain. Mais il faudroit, pour que cela pût etre adopté, qu'on en trouvat de preuves dans l'antiquité, ce qui eſt impoſſible, l'antiquité n'ayant jamais deifié des hommes." Monde Primitif. par M. Coûrt de Gebelin. 311.

[i] Herodotus. 120. to 132.

St. Clement [k] and St. Cyrill, [l] the patriarchs of Alexandria, accuſe the Pagans with having acknowledged Alexander for their thirteenth deity; but ſuch a rank had never been aſſigned him, and even the Athenians had the reſolution to fine the orator Demades ten talents, for propoſing to inſcribe the Macedonian Monarch in the number of their divinities. [m] It is notwithſtanding very certain, that Alexander's ſucceſſors ordered divine honours to be paid to him, [n] and that the Romans erected temples [o] inſcribed with his name; though there was not, as St. Chryſoſtom [p] hath

k "Οι δε γαρ ανθρωπους αποθεουν τετολμηκασι, τρις και δεκατον Αλεξανδρον τον Μακεδονα αναγραφοντες Θεον, ὁν βαβυλων ηλεγξε νεκρον." Clement. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. Tom. 1.--77. Oxon. 1715.

l "Αλεξανδρον δε τον Φιλιππε τρις και δεκατον εδοκει Θεον ονομαζειν τοις κατ'εκεινο καιρε." Cyrill contra Julianum, Lib. 6. Juliani opera, Tom. 2.--205. Folio. Lipſ. 1696.

m The Baron de St. Croix might have added the ſentence of death againſt Evagoras, as related by Athenæus. "Δημαδην δε δεκα ταλαντοις εζημιωσαν, ὁτι Θεον εισηγησατο Αλεξανδρον, και Ευαγοραν δε απεκτειναν, ὁτι τρεσβευων ὡς βασιλεα προσεκυνησεν αυτον" (Lib. 6. 251.) Plutarch hath preſerved a Bon Mot on this occaſion, "Πυθεας ετι μειρακιον ων, παρηλθεν αντερων τοις περι Αλεξανδρου γραφομενοις ψηφισμασιν· ειποντος δε τινος, Συ νεος ων τολμας λεγειν περι τηλικουτων; και μην, Αλεξανδρος, ειπεν, ὁν ψηφιζεσθε Θεον, εμε νεοτερος εστι." (Apothegm. Tom. 2.--187.) Such a ſarcaſtic reply as the Baron de St. Croix hath obſerved, ſeems of itſelf ſufficient to have rendered uſeleſs and ineffectual all the intrigues and eloquence of Demades. Yet he had made rather a ſerious appeal to the Athenians. "Videte," inquit, "ne dum cælum cuſtoditis, terram amittatis." (Val. Max. Lib. 7. 62.--638. 4to Leid. 1726.) Lucian however, ſtill ſeems to intimate it, "Ενιοι δε και τοις δωδεκα θεοις προσιθεντες, και νεως οικοδομεμενοι και θυοντες." Lucian. Dial. Mort. 13. Tom. 1.--391.

n La Diſſertation de Monſ. L'Abbe Belley. Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et des Belles Lettres. Tom. 32.--685. See alſo Barthius ad Statium. Tom. 1.--403, 404.

o It was in one of theſe temples that Alexander Severus was born according to Lampridius. "Alexander nomen accepit, quod in templo, dicato apud Arcenem urbem Alexandro Magno, natus eſſet." Hiſtoriæ Anguſtæ Scriptores. Tom. 1.--889.

p Homil. 26. in Epiſt. ad Corinthios.

hath aſſerted, any obligation by a decree of the Senate, to offer him adoration as their thirteenth deity. The worſhip of the deities of other nations was in fact often prohibited at Rome, ſometimes barely tolerated, and reſpectful allowances are to be made for writings, in which ſuch things are recorded, without either an outrage to veracity in a culpable ſilence, or inattention to them.

The memory of the exploits of the Macedonian Conqueror is ſtill treaſured up with veneration in the regions of the Eaſt. Both the Perſian, and Arabian authors, often ſpeak of him under the name of Eſcander, and he figures as a principal Hero of their romance. Eldriſi[q] confounds him with Hercules, Abulpharagius and Ebnbatric[r] trace his deſcent from one of the Kings of Egypt; and others affirm that the Empire of Iran, or of the Perſians, became his property by hereditary right, rather than by the force of arms.[s] Amidſt all theſe fables, and a multitude of others, ſome ſhining traits are diſtinctly viſible, which mark the Conqueror of Darius and of Aſia; and many of his actions, though they may have ſuffered alterations, clearly point out the ſplendid Perſonage to whom they were applied.

[q] Eldriſi. Geograph. Nub. 148.

[r] Abulpharagius. Hiſt. Dynaſt. ex Verſ. Pocock. 57.

[s] Mirkhoud. Sect. 20.

SECT.

SECTION. II.

HAPPY are the People, in whoſe annals neither the enterpriſes of an ambitious Prince, nor the exploits of a Conqueror are to be traced, which ſeldom fail of being deplorable misfortunes for the ſubject. The hiſtory of Macedon affords us a ſtriking inſtance of this truth, in the melancholy ſpectacle of the miſery, that followed ſo immediately the moments of its glory.——Philip's power was the fatal ſource of repeated wars and numerous revolutions.——His Succeſſor reaped the fruit of all his toils, and realized with ardour and activity thoſe ideal conqueſts, with which the Macedonian Monarch was occupied, when he died ſuddenly, in the firſt year of the 111th Olympiad, during the chief magiſtracy of Pythodemus,[a] 418 years before the foundation of Rome, and

[a] We have this information from Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 1.--5-6.) but he prefaces it with "Λεγεται δε." The Athenian Archon was the Chief of the nine magiſtrates, and the Athenian year was diſtinguiſhed by his name like the Roman year by that of their conſuls. "Εφοροι δε τατε αλλα διοικεσι τα σπεδης μαλιστα αξια, και παρεκονται τον επωνυμον; καθα δη και Αθηναιοις των καλεμενων ενιεα επωνυμος εστιν εις αρχων'" (Pauſanius. Laconic. 231. 232.) Theſe nine magiſtrates

and 336 before the vulgar era. The young Prince took the reins of government into his hands in the following year, according to Diodorus Siculus, when Evenætus was Archon, [b] but this hiſtorian contradicts himſelf afterwards, when he relates that Alexander reigned twelve years and ſeven months, [c] which carries back the time that Alexander became poſſeſſed of the throne of his anceſtors to the fifth month of the chief magiſtracy of Pythodemus.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, refers the commencement of Alexander's reign to the preceding year, when Phrynicus was Archon, in the fourth year of the 110th Olympiad, as he aſſures us that Demoſthenes pronounced his oration on the crown under Ariſtophon, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, and ſix [d] years after Philip's

magiſtrates according to Julius Pollux bore the following names, "Αρχων, Βασιλευς, Πολυμαρχος, ἑξ Θεσμοθεται." (Lib. 8.) Julius Pollux hath alſo given the Archon the addition of "Του ενιαυτε επωνυμος," which Selden hath tranſlated "Anni ſignator." (Marmon. Arund.) The Engliſh reader may learn many particulars of theſe offices from Potter's Grecian Antiquities, Vol. 1.-76. and the ſcholar may be gratified with more curious information by turning to Petit. Leges. Attic. 236. and Budæus, Comment. Græc. Linguæ. 172. &c. &c.

b "Επ' αρχοντος γαρ Αθηνησιν Ευαινετε———Αλεξανδρος διαδεξαμενος την βασιλειαν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--161.

c "Τον προειρημενον τροπον ετελευσε, βασιλευσας ετη δωδεκα και μηνας επτα." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.

d "Huit ans apres la mort de Philip." Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, in the paſſage referred to, ſpeaking of the oration, "Περι τε ςεφανε," ſays, "Ουτος γαρ μονος εις δικαςηριον εισεληλυθεν μετα τον πολεμον επ' Αριςοφωντος αρχοντος, ογδοω μεν ενιαυτω μετα την εν Χαιρωνεια μαχην, εκτω δε μετα την Φιλιππε τελευτην." (Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus. Epiſt. ad Ammæum. Tom. 6.--746.) I have corrected the error, but the Greek text is ſo very plain, and the eight years relate ſo very clearly to the battle of Chæronæa, that I muſt confeſs the miſtake created in me ſome little indignation.

Philip's death. This calculation however does not appear to be correct, for Philip died during the magiſtracy of Pythodemus, in the Macedonian month Dius, which was the firſt month of their Solar year, and anſwered to that of Puanepſion in the Attic year. The certainty of this date is aſcertained by the twelve years and eight months, which Arrian allots to Alexander's reign, who died, as we ſhall find afterwards, at the end of the month Thargalion. Eratoſthenes hath alſo ſettled the period of this reign, who reckons thirty-five [e] years between Philip's death and the battle of Leuctra, which happened according to the chronicle of Paros [f] in the chief magiſtracy of Phraſiclides, the ſecond year of the 102nd Olympiad, and this evidently fixes Philip's death in the Archonſhip of Pythodemus.

The defeat of the Triballians, the Thracians, the Getæ, the Autoriates, the Tralentians, and of the Agrionians, and the reduction of the different people, who made on the death of Philip an effort to recover their liberty, with ſome flattering expectations from the youth of his Son, were Alexander's firſt exploits. [g]

Both

[e] Ap. Clement. Alex. Strom. Lib. 1. Tom. 1.--402. Apud Morell.

[f] Epoch. 73.

[g] Plutarch hath very briefly given us an account of the difficulties, with which Alexander was embarraſſed on the death of Philip. "Παρελαβε μεν ουν ετη γεγονως εικοσι την βασιλειαν, φθονους μεγαλους και δεινα μιση και κινδυνους πανταχοθεν εχουσαν· ουτε γαρ τα βαρβαρα και προσοικα γενη την δουλω σιν εφερεν, ποθουντα τας πατριους βασιλειας· ουτε την Ελλαδα κρατησας τοις οπλοις ὁ Φιλιππος, οιον καταζευξε και τιθασευσαι χρονον εχεν, αλλα μονον μεταβαλων και ταραξας τα πραγματα, πολυν σαλον εχοντα και κινησιν υπο αηδειας, απελιπεν·" Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--670.

Both Diodorus and Plutarch paſs haſtily over theſe expeditions, in which the young Monarch's military talents were firſt unfolded: Arrian is the only writer, that hath extended an account of them to any ſatisfactory length,[h] and it even ſtill includes ſome difficulties. Thrace was the theatre of war, and it is ſcarcely to be conceived, that the Taulentians, the inhabitants of a little tract of country northward of Epirus, ſhould have been expoſed to any miſunderſtanding with Alexander, and ſhould have come from ſuch a diſtance to have joined his enemies. Perhaps by the Taulentians, the *Illyrians* are to be underſtood, over whom Glaucias the King of the Taulentians had ſtretched his Empire, and who were afterwards conſidered as the ſame people with their conquerors, and diſtinguiſhed by one common name. This conjecture appears to be authorized by the text of Arrian,[i] and hath been adopted by the learned Palmer in his obſervations upon ancient Greece.[k]

The Celtes, whoſe country bordered on the Ionic gulph, now the Adriatic ſea, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Alexander, and in a converſation with them he inquired what was the greateſt object

[h] Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6. -- 7, 30.

[i] And it ſeems to be confirmed by what Arrian ſays of the Athenian embaſſy, to congratulate Alexander on his proſperous return from his expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballians. "Ὅτι τε σωος ἐξ Ἰλλυριων καὶ Τριβαλλων ἐπανηλθε." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 10.--43.) Thucydides hath alſo called the Taulentians "Ἰλλυρικον ἔθνος." Thucydides, Lib. 1.--20.

[k] Palmer Græciæ Antiq. Deſcriptio. Lib. 1. Chap. 18.

of their fears, imagining that the terror of his exploits had already reached them.[l] Of the fall of the ſky, was ſuppoſed to have been their ſpirited reply. This ſtory which Arrian hath extracted from Ptolemy's memoirs, as appears by Strabo,[m] was in all likelihood an epiſode invented as an ornament to the hiſtory of Alexander. It is not probable that theſe Celtes, who were the ancient Boians or Senones, in poſſeſſion of a country inacceſſible in point of ſituation, and at a diſtance from the contending nations, ſhould without any motive have ſent ambaſſadors to court the friendſhip[n] of a Prince, with whom they had not either any connection or concern.

Juſtin[o] relates, that Alexander ſelected the different tributary Kings, whoſe abilities and talents were likely to be formidable to him,

l "Τους Κελτικους δε ηρετο, ὁ, τι μαλιϛα δεδιττεται αυτους των ανθρωπινων, ελπισας ὁτι μεγα ονομα το αυτου ἡ ες Κελτικους ἡ ετι προσωτερω ἡκει" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 4.--20.

m "Φησι δε Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου, κατα ταυτην την ϛρατειαν συμμιξαι τω Αλεξανδρω Κελτες τους περι την Αδριαν, φιλιας ἡ ξενιας χαριν· δεξαμενον δε αυτες φιλοφρονως τον βασιλεα, ερεσθαι παρ' αυτων, τι μαλιϛα ειη ὁ φοβοιντο, νομιζοντα αυτον ειναι· αυτους δε αποκρινεσθαι, ουδενα, ει μη αρα ὁ ουρανος αυτοις επιπεσοι" Strabo. Lib. 7.--462.

n The Baron de St. Croix's expreſſion is "Seroient ils venus ſans aucun motif proſtituer leur hommage." Arrian does not warrant this idea, by the "Φιλιας δε παντες της Αλεξανδρου εφιεμενοι" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 4.--20.) There is a wide difference between the deſire of a friendſhip and alliance with a Monarch, and the ſlaviſh offer of paſſive and unlimited obedience to him. The latter did not form any part of the Celtic character, and was utterly inconſiſtent with the genius of that bold and warlike nation.

o "Reges ſtipendiarios conſpectioris ingenii ad commilitium ſecum trahit: ſegnioris ad tutelam regni reliquit." (Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 5.--265.) If we are to credit Juſtin, Alexander acted on

him, and carried them away with him. Frontinus [p] tells us, that the vanquiſhed princes and even the principal perſons of the conquered countries were taken, on the ſame refined plan of policy, into Aſia, as honourable attendants upon Alexander; but the reſt of the hiſtorians, without any obſervation on the ſubject, paſs it over in profound ſilence.—Policy made it neceſſary for Alexander to aſſure himſelf of the fidelity of Greece by ſome great ſtroke before he quitted it, and the revolt of Thebes, afforded him an ample opportunity, in every reſpect favourable to his wiſhes. The

 city

on a ſtill more barbarous principle, and to enſure the ſafety of his government, cut off without exception all his own family relations, who from a proximity of blood, or their high rank, might have taken the advantage of his abſence and endeavoured to have ſeated themſelves upon his throne. "Proficiſcens ad Perſicum bellum, omnes novercæ ſuæ cognatos, quos Philippus in excelſiorem dignitatis locum provehens, imperiis præfecerat, interfecit. Sed nec ſuis, qui apti regno videbantur, pepercit; ne qua materia ſeditionis, procul ſe agente, in Macedoniâ remaneret." (Lib. 11. Chap. 5.--265.) In the crooked and corrupted ſchool of politics, ſuch unhappy victims of imperial policy have frequently been ſlaughtered, but reaſon and humanity have always raiſed their voices againſt this dreadful waſte of human blood. In proportion as the mild ſpirit of Chriſtianity hath been attended to, theſe ſcenes have diſappeared, and it is ſome conſolation to reflect, that the hiſtorians of a future century will have fewer extravagant inſtances of tyranny and cruelty either to record, or to lament.

[p] "Frontine ne fait point cette diſtinction: il pretend que tous les princes vaincus ſubirent un pareit ſort." I have been under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of varying this ſentence. Frontinus on the contrary, proves as far as his evidence hath any weight, that Alexander purſued the ſame ſyſtem of retaining his ſovereignty over the conqueſts, that he had made, by the removal of every individual, capable of creating either danger or diſturbance. "Alexander, devictâ perdomitâque Thraciâ, petens Aſiam, veritus, ne poſt ipſius deceſſus ſumerent arma, reges eorum, præfectoſque, et omnes, quibus videbantur ineſſe cura detractæ libertatis, ſecum, velut honoris cauſâ, traxit, ignobilibus autem relictis plebeios præfecit; conſecutus, ubi principes beneficiis ejus obſtricti, nihil novare vellent; plebs vero ne poſſet quidem, ſpoliata principibus." I. Frontinus. Strategemat. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--298, 299. 8vo L. B. 1731

city was beſieged and totally deſtroyed. Every germ of a war, which might have retarded, and perhaps have put a ſtop to the vaſt projects of this Prince, was thus blaſted to its root, and Thebes in its ruins exhibited an awful and tremendous ſpectacle, which ſpread an impreſſive conſternation over all Greece.

Thebes was taken by ſtratagem according to Polyænus,[q] but Ptolemy,[r] who was preſent at the ſiege, informs us that the beſieged had raſhly advanced too far in a ſally, and on being repulſed by the Macedonian phalanx, the beſiegers entered the town with them in their confuſion. Diodorus Siculus[s] hath confirmed Ptolemy's

q "Αλεξανδρος ελαβε Θηβας της δυναμεως ικανην αποκρυψας, και ταξας αυτης Αντιπατρον. την δε φαγεραν αυτης ηγεν επι τας εχυρας των τοπων· Θηβαιοι δε επεξηλθον, και προς την ορωμενην δυναμιν ουκ αγενως αντιπαρεταξαντο· Αντιπατρος εν τω καιρω της μαχης την κεκρυμμενην δυναμιν αναςησας, κυκλω περιελθων ἡ σαθρον και αφυλακτον ην το τειχος, ταυτη κατελαβετο την πολιν·" Polyænus. Strat. Lib. 4. --333.

r "Λεγει Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου ὁτι———Αλεξανδρος τους μεν αυτου φευγοντας κατιδων, τους Θηβαιους δε λελυκοτας εν τη διωξει την ταξιν, εμβαλλει ες αυτους συντεταγμενη τη φαλαγγι· Οἱ δε ωθουσιν τους Θηβαιους εισω των πυλων· και τοις Θηβαιοις ες τοσονδε ἡ φυγη φοβερα εγιγνετο, ὡςε δια των πυλων ωθουμενοι ες την πολιν, ουκ εφθησαν συγκλεισαι τας πυλας· αλλα συνεσπιπτουσι γαρ αυτοις εισω του τειχους, ὁσοι των Μακεδονων εγγυς φευγοντων ειχοντο·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 8.--34, 35, 36.

s "Ανυπερβλητε δε της φιλοτιμιας γινομενης, ὁ βασιλευς, καταγνους τινα πυλιδα καταλελειμενην απο των φυλακων, εξαπεςειλε Περδικκαν μετα χρατιωτων ικανων καταλαβεσθαι ταυτην, και παρεισπεσειν εις την πολιν· τουτο δε ταχυ προσταχθεν ποισαντος, οἱ μεν Μακεδονες δια της πυλιδος παρεισεπεσον εις την πολιν———της δε πολεως τον τροπον καταλαμβανομενης, πολλαι και ποικιλαι περιςασεις εντος των τειχων εγινοντο·" The terrible cataſtrophe is then pathetically deſcribed. "Οι μεν γαρ Μακεδονες, δια την υπερφανιαν τε κηρυγματος, πικροτερον, η πολεμικωτερον προσεφεροντο τοις Θηβαιοις, κ᾽ μετα πολλης απειλης επιφερομενοι τοις ητυχηκοσιν, αφειδως ανηρουν παντας τους περιτυγχανοντας· Οἱ δε Θηβαιοι, το φιλελευθερον της ψυχης διαφυλαττοντες, τοσουτον απειχον τε φιλοζωειν, ὡς᾽ εν ταις απαντησεσι συμπλεκεσθαι,

κ᾽

Ptolemy's account with a few ſlight ſhades of difference. The hiſtorians reckon ſix thouſand of the beſieged to have been killed, and thirty thouſand of them to have been made priſoners:[t] others have pretended that the Thebans loſt ten thouſand men in the ſiege. Agatharcides very reaſonably ſuſpects this calculation to be an exaggerated one, and improbable.[w] On the ſuppoſition that

κ̀ τας παρα των πολεμιων επισπασθαι πληγας· ἑαλωκυιας γαρ της πολεως, ουδεις Θηβαιων ἑωραθη δεηθεις των Μακεδονων φεισασθαι τȣ ζην, ουδε προσεπιπτον τοις των κρατȣντων γονασιν αϝεννως·————των δε ὑπολελειμενων Θηβαιων ὁι μεν κατατετρωμενοι τα σωματα, κ̀ λειποψυχȣντες συνεπλεκοντο τοις πολεμιοις, συναποθνησκοντες τη των εχθρων απολεια·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--169, 170.) The generous mind will pauſe with admiration at this wonderful diſplay of undaunted valour, and a ſigh will naturally ariſe on the recollection that ſuch exertions in the cauſe of freedom were unſucceſsful.

[t] "Των δε Θηβαιων ανηρεθησαν μεν ὑπερ τȣς ἑξακισχιλιȣς, αιχμαλωτα δε σωματα συνηχθη πλειω των τρισμυριων·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--170.

"Εφονευσε δε των Θηβαιων εις ἑξακισχιλιȣς, αιχμαλωτοι δε εληφθησαν τρισμυριοι·" (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 13. C. 7. Tom. 2.-861. 4to 1731.) We learn from the ſame authority that the deſcendants of the poet Pindar had a ſingular reſpect paid to them amidſt the univerſal devaſtation, and that his houſe was the only one exempted from the general deſtruction. "Ετιμησε δε κ̀ τȣς εϝγονȣς τȣς τȣ Πινδαρȣ κ̀ την οικιαν αυτȣ μονην ειασαν ἑϛαναι·" (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 13. Chap. 7. Tom. 2.-860.) Plutarch hath confirmed Ælian's account of the reſpect ſhewn to Pindar's family, and agrees with him on the Theban Loſs. "Υπεξελομενος δε τους ἱερεις, κ̀ τȣς ξενους Μακεδονων ἁπαντας, κ̀ τους απο Πινδαρȣ γεϝονοτας, κ̀ τους ὑπεναντιωθεντας τοις ψηφισαμενοις την αποϛασιν, απεδοτο τους αλλους, περι τρισμυριους γενομενους· ὁι δε αποθανοντες ὑπερ ἑξακισχιλιȣς ησαν·" Plutarch. Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--670.)

[w] I am not happy enough to have found the paſſage, which the Baron de St. Croix hath referred to in Photius, for this opinion of Agatharcides. The only one that I have met with, which mentions the loſs of the Thebans, is the following one. "Πλην προστιθησι κ̀ ἑτερα των ειρημενων ὁμοια, ὑπο την αυτην κ̀ ταυτα φερων διαβολην· ὁιον, Θηβαιοι εν τη μαχη τη προς Μακεδονας ὑπερ τȣς μυριους ανετραπησαν·" (Photii Biblioth. 1337.) where the expreſſion was more an object of criticiſm, than the number of the ſlain. Simpſon alſo thinks the number to have been magnified. Chronic. ad Ann. Mundi, 3670.

that this ſtatement was correct, the population of Thebes might be eſtimated at fifty thouſand ſouls, a number that bears no ſort of proportion to the crippled ſtate of this city, which had previouſly loſt much of its ancient ſplendour, had been enfeebled by many bloody battles, and whoſe power had been nearly annihilated in the ſacred war.[x] Clitarchus only valued the whole riches of Thebes, when they became a prey to the Macedonians, at four hundred and forty talents,[y] which directly contradicts the pompous account that Diodorus Siculus hath given of the pretended treaſure, found by the Conqueror on his capture of this place. But the authority of Diodorus Siculus, who is often very inexact, can here indeed have little influence, as we find in general the ſame calculations with thoſe of Clitarchus. Some arguments may alſo be drawn from the circumſtances, which Athenæus hath preſerved, reſpecting the manners and mode of life amongſt the Thebans, which denounce their poverty,[z] and appear inconſiſtent with a numerous population, which is generally the attendant of advantageous manufactures and extenſive commerce.

Alarmed

[x] Pauſanias informs us that this ſacred war laſted ten years. "Τον Φωκικον πολεμον, ονομαζομενον δε ὑπο Ελληνων ἱερον, συνεχως δεκα ετεσιν επολεμησαν." (Pauſanias. Lib. 9. Chap. 6.--724.) A length of time that muſt neceſſarily have drained them both of men and money.

[y] "Κλειταρχος εν πρωτη των περι Αλεξανδρον ἱςοριων διηγουμενος, καὶ ὁτι πας αυτων πλουτος ἡυρεθε μετα την ὑπ' Αλεξανδρου της πολεως κατασκαφην εν παλαντοις τετρακοσιοις τεσσαρακοντα φησιν, ὁτι τε μικροψυχοι ησαν, καὶ τα περι την τροφην λιχνοι." Athenæus. Lib. 4.--148.

[z] "Παρασκευαζοντες εν τοις δειπνοις θρια, καὶ ἑψητους, καὶ αφυας, καὶ εγκαρσιλυχους, καὶ αλλαντας, καὶ σχελιδας, καὶ ετνος." Athenæus. Lib. 4.--148.

Alarmed at the capture of Thebes, Athens by the perſuaſion of Demades ſent an embaſſy to Alexander, to congratulate him on his ſafe return from Illyria and the country of the Triballians, and to teſtify their joy to him on his ſucceſs at Thebes, and the chaſtiſement, with which he had puniſhed its revolt. The Prince received it very graciouſly, but he wrote to the Athenians and demanded Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyeuctes, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus and Mærocles to be given up to him, whom he believed to have been the authors of the diſturbances after Philip's death, and the cauſe of the battle of Chæronea. A ſecond embaſſy was ſent by the Athenians with the hope of ſoftening the Prince's reſolution, and the buſineſs was at laſt compromiſed, on Alexander's inſiſting only on the exile of Charidemus.[a] Such is Arrian's account, but it neither agrees with that of his cotemporary authors, nor even with that of Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, or Juſtin. Thebes was not in fact deſtroyed, and the young Conqueror was abſolutely engaged in the ſiege, when the embaſſy was ſent, as appears by the oration of Æſchines againſt Cteſiphon, in which he reproaches Demoſthenes, one of the deputies, with his return from mount Cithæron, and having wanted the courage to execute his commiſſion.[b] Plutarch confirms the charge of Æſchines, and adds that a meſſage was ſent by Alexander

[a] "Χαριδημον μεν τοι, μονον των εξαιτηθεντων τε ϗ ου δοθεντων, φευγειν εκελευσε· ϗ φευγει Χαριδημος ες την Ασιαν παρα βασιλεα Δαρειον" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 10. Chap. 10.--44.

[b] "Πρεσβευτης ὑφ' ὑμων χειροτονηθεις, αποδρας εκ μεσης της Κιθαιρωνος ηκεν ὑποστρεψας" Æſchinis oratio contra Cteſiphont. 120.

ander himſelf to demand ten of the factious demagogues[c] according to Duris and Idomeneus, and eight according to more credible hiſtorians. Demades having joined the party of Demoſthenes,[d] was named by the people of Athens, ambaſſador on this occaſion to Alexander, and he had the addreſs to procure the pardon of their orators.——Diodorus Siculus[e] hath not taken any notice of the firſt deputations of the Athenians, though he agrees in other particulars with Plutarch. Juſtin ſpeaks of this deputation even before the ſiege of Thebes, and if we are to believe him, its object was to obtain a peace from the young Monarch, which he granted.

[c] "Αιρεθεις δε μεθ' ετερων πρεσβευτης προς Αλεξανδρον, δεισας δε την οργην, εκ της Κιθαιρωνος ανεχωρησεν οπισω, και την πρεσβειαν αφηκεν· ευθυς δε ὁ Αλεξανδρος εζητει πεμπων των δημαγωγων δεκα μεν ὡς Ιδομενευς και Δουρις ειρηκασιν· οκτω δε, ως ὁι πλειστοι και δοκιμωτατοι των συγγραφεων, τους δε, Δημοσθενη, Πολυευκτον, Εφιαλτην, Λυκουργον, Μυροκλεα, Δαμωνα, Καλλισθενη, Χαριδημον·" Plutarch. Vit. Demoſth. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--856.

[d] Diodorus Siculus informs us that Demades was ſuppoſed to have received five talents for this political manœuvre. "Δημαδης, πεπεισμενος ὑπο των περι Δημοσθενην, ὡς φασι, πεντε ταλαντοις αργυριου, συνεβουλευε μεν σωζειν τους κινδυνευοντας·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--171.) The Athenian ſenate it ſeems was as corrupt as a modern Houſe of Commons.

[e] Diodorus Siculus agrees with Plutarch and Æſchines as to the return of Demoſthenes from mount Cithæron, but he doubts whether it was from fear, or other motives. "Εν δε τοις πρεσβεσι και Δημοσθενης εκπεμφθεις, ὡ συνηλθε μετα των αλλων προς τον Αλεξανδρον, αλλ' εκ της Κιθαιρωνος ανεκαμψεν εις τας Αθηνας· ειτε δια τα πεπολιτευμενα κατα Μακεδονων φοβηθεις, ειτε βουλομενος τω βασιλει των Περσων αμεμπτον αὑτον διαφυλαττειν· πολλα γαρ χρηματα φασιν αυτον ειληφεναι παρα Περσων, ἱνα πολιτευηται κατα Μακεδονων· περι ὡν και τον Αισχινην φασιν, ονειδιζοντα τω Δημοσθενει κατα τινα λογον την δωροδοκιαν, ειπειν, "Νυν μεντοι την δαπανην επικεκλυκεν αυτης το βασιλικον χρυσιον· εσαι δε ὡδε τουτο ἱκανον· ουδεις γαρ πωποτε πλουτος τροπης πομπης περιεγενετο·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--162, 163.) A variety of theſe pointed charges are made by Æſchines in his oration againſt Cteſiphon, and as they are ſo feebly repelled by Demoſthenes, in all probability, they were but too well founded.

granted.[f] This hiſtorian informs us likewiſe that Alexander pardoned the orators, but that the Athenian generals were under the neceſſity of retiring into exile; and, entering into the Perſian ſervice, were of infinite advantage to it.[g] But this latter circumſtance ſtands unſupported by any writer of antiquity. Juſtin poſſibly meant to ſpeak of Charidemus, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf very eminently in the Olynthian war, but it appears, by ſome expreſſions of Dinarchus,[h] that this able general had voluntarily expatriated, for the purpoſe of rendering his country more important advantages with the King of Perſia.[i]——Ephialtes ſoon followed the example, and retired from Athens.[k] But it is not probable as Arrian hath aſſerted,[l] that the Athenians could have

L applauded

[f] "Miſſis itaque legatis, bellum deprecantur: quibus auditis et graviter increpatis, Alexander bellum remiſit. Inde Thebas exercitum convertit." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 3.--262.

[g] "Secundâ legatione denuo bellum deprecantibus, ita demum remiſerit, ut oratores et duces, quorum fiducia toties rebellent, ſibi dedantur: paratiſque Athenienſibus ne cogantur ſubire bellum, eo res deducta eſt, ut retentis oratoribus, duces in exilium agerentur, qui ex continenti ad Darium profecti, non mediocre Perſarum viribus acceſſere." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 4.--265.

[h] Dinarchi oratio contra Demoſthenem. Ed. Steph. 99.

[i] From a jealouſy of the Perſian generals, he was afterwards ungratefully put to death by the orders of Darius. Q. Curtius (Lib. 3. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--69.--70.) hath given us ſome of the leading circumſtances. Diodorus Siculus (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--181, 182.) hath entered into them more minutely.

[k] Dinarchi oratio contra Demoſthenem. Ed. Steph. 94.

[l] "Αθηναιοι δε, μυστηριων των μεγαλων αγομενων, ὡς ἡκον τινες των Θηβαιων εξ αυτου τῦ εργου, τα μεν μυστηρια εκπλαγεντες εξελιπον, εκ δε των αγρων εσκευαγωγουν ες την πολιν" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib 1. Chap. 10.-43.) This feſtival diſtinguiſhed by the name of the greater myſteries was celebrated in the

applauded Alexander on his cruel treatment of the Thebans, when they publicly deplored their lamentable fate, immediately put a ſtop to the celebration of their myſteries, and received within their walls ſuch of the wretched ſufferers as had eſcaped from the ſword or fetters of the Conqueror.[m]

Having ſecured the tranquillity of Greece, Alexander prepared for his attack of the Perſian empire. The weakneſs of a neighbouring nation, ſtrong political probabilities of ſucceſs, and the deſtruction of an enemy, are often the real cauſes of wars, which are entered into with apparent principles of juſtice.—The Conqueror of Aſia had no other motives. Polybius,[n] with his uſual acuteneſs, hath penetrated into them, and hath had the ſagacity to ſeparate them from thoſe pretended reaſons for hoſtilities, in which the Grecian vanity was too much intereſted, to allow of their ſuſpecting their propriety.

The

the month Boedromion with extraordinary and rigid ſolemnity. It laſted nine days, and was introduced at Rome under Adrian, when it bore the name of the Eleuſinian myſteries from the town of Eleuſis in Attica, where it had been celebrated with more than common ſuperſtition. Themiſtius, Proclus, Stobæus and Dion Chryſoſtom, have given us ſome intereſting circumſtances relating to theſe myſteries: Meurſius hath entered into them at large in his treatiſe on this feſtival, and Warburton (Divine Legation, Vol. 1.--239, 248. 8vo Edit. 1765.) hath extracted the eſſence, and ingeniouſly adapted it to his own ſyſtem.

[m] The flying Thebans according to Æſchines were received within the walls of Athens: "Τες παλαιπωρες Θηβαιως φυγοντας ὑποδεδεχθε τη πολει" (Æſchines contra Cteſiph. 116.) but Juſtin goes ſtill further and ſays, that they opened the city-gates to them, in defiance of Alexander's expreſs prohibition. "Miſeranda res Athenienſibus viſa. Itaque portus refugiis profugorum contra interdictum regis aperuere." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 4.--264.

[n] Polyb. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Tom. 1.--398, 399, 400. Edit. Schweighæuſer. 8vo Lipſ. 1789.

The era of this expedition into Aſia became a celebrated one in the Grecian calendars, and was marked in all their annals. Duris reckoned 1000 years from the deſtruction of Troy to this epoch: Ephorus from the return of the Heraclides to the ſame period 735: Timœus and Clitarchus 820: Eratoſthenes 773, and laſtly Phanius aſſures us that 715 had elapſed between that event and the Archonſhip of Evænetus, when Alexander entered Aſia.[o] Diodorus, after the information that Alexander mounted the throne, during the magiſtracy of this Archon, is reduced to the neceſſity of fixing this expedition under that of Cteſicles,[p] circumſtances rendering an interval of a year[q] neceſſary between Philip's death and the war, which his Son undertook againſt Perſia. This opinion, however, is by no means preferable to that of St. Clement of Alexandria, who refers it to the Archonſhip of Evænetus his predeceſſor.[r] It is at leaſt certain, that Alexander's expedition into Aſia was immediately ſubſequent to the fall of

 Thebes,

[o] "Επι Ευαινετου αρχοντα εφ' ὃ φασιν Αλεξανδρον εις την Ασιαν διαβηναι, ὡς μεν Φανιας, ετη επτακοσια δεκαπεντε· ὡς μεν Εφορος επτακοσια τριακοντα πεντε· ὡς δε Τιμαιος και Κλειταρχος οκτακοσια εικοσι· ὡς δε Ερατοσθενης επτακοσια εβδομηκοντα τεσσερα· ὡς δε Δυρις, απο Τροιας αλωσεως επι την του Αλεξανδρου εις την Ασιαν διαβασιν ετη χιλια." Clement. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 1.--337. Fol. apud Morell. 1629.

[p] "Επ' αρχοντος δ' Αθηνησι Κτησικλεους·——————Αλεξανδρος δε μετα της δυναμεως πορευθεις επι τον Ελλησποντον διεβιβασε την δυναμιν εκ της Ευρωπης εις την Ασιαν·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2. --172.

[q] Zozimus hath boldly poſtponed this Aſiatic expedition to the third year of Alexander's reign. "Αλεξανδρος δε παραλαβων την βασιλειαν, ὡς παραχρημα τα κατα τους Ελληνας διαθεις, τριτῳ της βασιλειας ετει μετα δυναμεως αρχουσης επι την Ασιαν εξελλετο·" Zozimus. Lib. 1.--7, 8. 8vo Lipſ. 1784.

[r] Stromat. Lib. 1.--337.

Thebes, 335 years before Chriſt.—We learn from Arrian, that Alexander began his march early in the ſpring, and reached Seſtus in twenty days,[s] which proves as the learned Uſher[t] hath obſerved, that the paſſage of the Helleſpont ought to be fixed about three months before Cteſicles entered into office. The operations of the army in Aſia Minor, and the battle of Iſſus eſtabliſh this calculation, which Corſini[v] hath adopted in his Attic annals, though the Jeſuit Petau[w] from a devotion to Diodorus, rather more than warrantable, hath related theſe events and the remarkable paſſage of the Grecians under the magiſtracy of Cteſicles, notwithſtanding they really happened under that of Evænetus.

The judicious counſels of the ſage Memnon[x] were either not attended to, or not followed; and the Perſians having determined to

[s] "Αμα δε τω ηρι αρχομενω εξελαυνει αφ' Ελλεσποντου ——————— ες Σηστον αφικνειται εν εικοσι ταις πασαις ημεραις απο της οικοθεν εξορμησεως" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 11.-44, 45.) Diodorus Siculus hath recorded Antipater's and Parmenio's very curious advice to Alexander, previous to the commencement of his Aſiatic expedition. "Των δε περι Αντιπατρον, και Παρμενιωνα συμβελευοντων, προτερον ΠΑΙΔΟΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ, και τοτε τοις τηλικουτοις εγχειρειν εργοις" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--171.) The recommendation of ſuch a ſyſtem of Royal Amuſement might have warped a leſs vigorous and ambitious mind from its intended projects, and put a final ſtop to the Perſian war.

[t] Uſher, Annal. 151.

[v] Corſini Faſt. Attic. Tom. 4.--41, 42.

[w] D. Petavius Doctrin. Temp. Lib. 13.

[x] "Μεμνων ὁ Ροδιος παρηνει μη δια κινδυνου ιεναι προς τους Μακεδονας, τω τε πεζω πολυ περιοντα σφων, και αυτω Αλεξανδρω παροντος, αυτοις δε αποντος Δαρειου· Προιοντας δε, τον τε χειλον αφανιζειν καταπατουντας

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to defend the paſſage of the Granicus, their army agreeable to Arrian's computation, conſiſted of twenty thouſand cavalry and an equal number of infantry,[y] of which the mercenaries formed the greateſt part. Diodorus Siculus magnifies the number into ten thouſand cavalry and one hundred thouſand infantry,[z] whilſt Juſtin taking the horſe and foot together, extends it to ſix hundred thouſand,[a] which ſhocks every idea of probability.

Arrian hath entered into a minute deſcription of this celebrated battle, in which the Perſian valour made victory for a long time doubtful, and which Alexander at laſt decided in his favour by plunging at the head of the Theſſalian horſe into the middle of the enemy. The defeated army loſt, according to this writer's calculation,

τη ἱππω, ϗ τον εν τη γη καρπον εμπιπραναι, μηδε των πολεων αυτων φειδομενους· ου γαρ μενειν εν τη χωρα Αλεξανδρον απορια των επιτηδειων· (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 12.-53.) Diodorus Siculus confirms the circumſtance of Memnon's opinion with the addition of his wiſhing to carry the war into Europe, and make an attack on Macedonia. "Μεμνον μεν ȣν ὁ Ροδιος, διαβεβοημενος επι συνεσει ϛρατηγικη, συνεβȣλευσε κατα ϛομα μεν μη διακινδυνευειν, την δε χωραν φθειρειν, ϗ τη σπανει των αναγκαιων ειργειν τȣς Μακεδονας της εις τȣμπροσθεν πορειας· διαβιβαζειν δε ϗ δυναμεις εις την Μακεδονιαν ναυτικας τε ϗ πεζικας, ϗ τον ὁλον πολεμον εις την Ευρωπην μεταγαγειν·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--173.

y "Περσων δε ἱππεις μεν ησαν ες δισμυριους, ξενοι δε πεζοι μισθυφοροι ολιγον αποδεοντες δισμυριων·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 14.--57.

z "Οι δε παντες ἱππεις ὑπηρχον πλειους των μυριων· οἱ δε πεζοι των Περσων ησαν μεν ουκ ελαττους των δεκα μυριαδων·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--174.

a "In Acie Perſarum ſexcenta millia militum fuere." (Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 6.--270.) The commentators have unanimouſly given up this paſſage as indefenſible, but they have not agreed in what manner its extravagance is to be corrected.

calculation,[b] a thouſand horſe upon this fatal day, and the whole of their infantry, two thouſand of the mercenaries excepted, who were made priſoners, but Diodorus[c] reduces their loſs to ſomewhat above ten thouſand infantry and two thouſand of their cavalry.

Reflecting on the determined reſolution, with which the Perſians reſiſted the efforts of the Macedonian army, and the obſtacles, that a river, defended by a numerous body of troops, under the command of an able and experienced general, naturally preſents, it is impoſſible to believe[d] that the Conqueror ſuffered only the trifling

[b] "Των δη μεν ἱππεων των Περσων απεθανον εις χιλιους· Ου γαρ πολλη ἡ διωξις εγενετο, ὁτι εξετραπη Αλεξανδρῳ επι τους ξενους τους μισθοφορους·—Και τουτους την τε φαλαγγα επαγαγων, καὶ τους ἱππεας παντη προς πεσειν κελευσας, εν μεσω δι ολιγου κατακοπτει αυτους· ὡστε διεφυγε μεν ουδεις, ὁτι μη διελαθε τις εν τοις νεκροις·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 16.--63.

[c] "Diodore reduit toute la perte de l'armée Perſe à dix mille ſoldats." But the Baron de St. Croix hath miſtaken Diodorus Siculus, and forgotten the two thouſand horſe. "Απεθανον δε των Περσων οἱ μεν πεζοι μεν πλειους των μυριων, ἱππεις δ' ουκ ελαττους δισχιλιων·" (Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--17, 176.) It is a groſs error, and I have rectified it. Plutarch computes the Perſians to have loſt twenty thouſand of their foot, and two thouſand and five hundred of their horſe, but he takes it on tradition: "Λεγονται δε, πεζοι μεν, δισμυριοι των βαρβαρων, ἱππεις δε δισχιλιοι πεντακοσιοι πεσειν·" (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--673.) There is perhaps no poſſibility of aſcertaining the preciſe number, but truth, in all likelihood, may lie between the two extremes.

[d] "On ne ſauroit croire que les vainqueurs n'aient perdu que ſoixante et quinze cavaliers et trente fantaſſins." From theſe repeated miſtakes, it is to be apprehended that the Baron de St. Croix truſted for the fidelity of his references to ſome careleſs tranſcriber. Arrian to whom the appeal is made, ſtates the loſs as it now ſtands. "Μακεδονων δε των μεν ἑταιρων αμφι τους εικοσι και πεντε τη πρωτη προσβολη απεθανον·—Των δε αλλων ἱππεων ὑπερ τους ἑξηκοντα, πεζοι δε ες τους τριακοντα·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 16.--63.) Juſtin reckons it at nine of the foot and one

trifling loſs of eighty-five of his cavalry and thirty of his infantry. Yet this is the account of it, which the hiſtorians of the life of Alexander have left us, who take a pleaſure in diminiſhing the loſſes of their youthful Hero, and exaggerating the misfortunes of his enemies.

Arrian's account of the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus, which was defended with infinite courage and capacity by Memnon, hath been juſtly admired by military men, and the reaſon which he ſuppoſes to have had an influence upon Alexander's ſucceſsful paſſage to mount Climax, on the borders of the ſea of Pamphilus, will equally extort the cooler approbation of the philoſopher. The Macedonian Monarch with a part of his army effected this dangerous march with as much happineſs as temerity, a violent North-wind keeping back the waves, and preventing the ſea from covering the ſand with its uſual depth of water. [e]

Strabo,

one hundred and twenty horſe. "De exercitu Alexandri novem pedites, centum viginti equites cecidere." (Lib. 11. Chap. 6.--271.) But Ariſtobulus, as we learn from Plutarch, is more abſurd, and imagines only thirty-four men to have fallen, of whom nine were foot ſoldiers. "Των δε περι τον Αλεξανδρον, Αριστοβυλος φησιν τεσσερα και τριακοντα νεκρους γενεσθαι τους παντας, ων εννεα πεζους ειναι." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--673.) Oroſius (Lib. 3. Chap. 16.) agrees with Juſtin, but as Oroſius is only Juſtin at ſecond hand, I do not know that he adds any thing to his authority.

e "Αυτος δε παρα την θαλασσαν δια του αγιαλου ηγε τους αμφ'αυτον· εξι δε ταυτη ἡ ὁδος ουκ αλλως, ὁτι μη των επ'ακρτου ανεμων πνεοντων· ει δε νοτοι κατεκοιεν, απορως εχει δια τυ αγιαλυ ὁδοιπορειν· τοτε δ'εκ νοτων σκληρων, βορεαι επιπνευσαντες, ουκ ανευ τυ Θευ (ὡς αυτῳ τε καὶ ὁς αμφ'αυτον εξηγουντω) ευμαρη καὶ ταχειαν την παροδον παρεσχον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 26.--92.

Strabo, who ſuppreſſes all the miraculous incidents of the march,[f] informs us, that the Macedonian ſoldiers paſſed through the ſea with the water up to their waiſts, and Plutarch[g] hath cited ſome verſes of Menander, in which the comic poet hath ridiculed the wonderful account, which ſeveral writers had given of this paſſage. Alexander in one of his letters[h] barely mentions it, and ſays, that after his departure from Phacelides he had advanced to mount Climax.

Joſephus

[f] "Περι Φασηλιδα δ'εςι τα κατα θαλατταν ςενα, δι ὡν Αλεξανδρος παρηγαγε την ςρατειαν· εςι δε ορος Κλιμαξ καλουμενον· επικειται δε τω παμφυλιω πελαγει, ςενην απολειπων παροδον επι τω αιγιαλω, ταις μεν νηνεμιαις γυμνουμενην, ὡςε ειναι βασιμον τοις ὁδευουσι· πλημμυροντος δε του πελαγους, ὑπο των κυματων καλυπτομενην επιπολυ· ἡ μεν ουν δια του ορους ὑπερβασις, περιοδον εχει καὶ προσαντης εςι, τω δ'αιγιαλω χρωνται κατα τας ευδιας· Ὁ δε Αλεξανδρος εις χειμεριον εμπεσων καιρον, καὶ το πλεον επιτρεπων τη τυχη, πριν ανειναι τα κυμα ὡρμησε, καὶ ὁλην την ἡμεραν εν υδασι γενεσθαι την πορειαν συνεβη, μεχρι ομφαλου βαπτιζομενων·" Strabo. Lib. 14. Tom. 2.--982.

[g] "Ἡ δε της Παμφυλιης παραδρομη, πολλοις γεγονε των ἱςορικων ὑποθεσις γραφικη προς εκπληξιν καὶ ογκον, ὡς θεια τινι τυχη παραχωρησασαν Αλεξανδρω την θαλασσαν, αλλως αει ταχειαν εκ πελαγους προσφερομενην, σπανιως δε λεπτους καὶ προςηχεις ὑπο τα κρημνωδη καὶ παρερρωγοτα της ὁρεινης παγους διακαλυπτουσαν δηλοι δε καὶ Μενανδρος, εν κωμωδια παιζων προς το παραδοξον· Ὡς Αλεξανδρωδες ηδη τουτο, εκ ζητω τινα, αυτοματος ὁυτος παρεςαι· καν διελθειν δηλαδη δια θαλασσης δεη τοπον τιν, ὁυτος εςαι μοι βαθος·" Plutarch. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--674.

[h] "Αυτος δε Αλεξανδρος εν ταις επιςολαις, ουδεν τοιουτον τερατευσαμενος, ὁδοποιησαι φησιν, την λεγομενην Κλιμακα, καὶ διελθειν ὁρμησας εκ Φασηλιδος·" (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--674.) Yet Appian, in his parallel of Julius Cæſar with Alexander, by his expreſſions of "Δαιμονιως" and "Αυτου του Δαιμονος," appears to intimate a received opinion of a ſupernatural impulſe on the ſea. "Και τον Παμφυλιον κολπον της θαλασσης ανακοπεισης διετρεχε δαιμονιως, καὶ το πελαγος αυτου του Δαιμονος κατεχοντος·" (De bell. civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--849. 8vo Amſt. 1670.) The latter part of this ſentence is ridiculouſly rendered in this edition, "Fortuna marina undas cohibente." Appian here certainly meant more than is uſually underſtood by the Greek word Τυχη, which is properly tranſlated, Fortune: the idea of both the heroes of his compariſon being, in a very particular manner, under the ſpecial protection of Providence, exalts their characters and fell exactly within his plan.

Joſephus was not proof againſt theſe fabulous relations, and having occaſion to take notice of the paſſage of the Red ſea, he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms, "Nor let any one wonder at the ſtrangeneſs of the narration; if a way were diſcovered to thoſe men of old time, who were free from the wickedneſs of modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord. While for the ſake of thoſe that accompanied Alexander, King of Macedonia, who yet lived, comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian ſea retired and afforded them a paſſage through itſelf, when they had no other way to go: I mean when it was the will of God to deſtroy the Monarchy of the Perſians. And this is confeſſed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to theſe events let every one determine as he pleaſes."[i] Joſephus in this indiſcreet reference to the paſſage of the Red ſea, ſeems to admit that there were doubts[k] of the reality of that miracle,

M though

[i] Whiſton's Joſephus. Book 2. Chap. 16. Vol. 2.--63. "Θαυμασει δε μηδεις τȣ λογȣ το παραδοξον, ει αρχαιοις ανθρωποις κ̀ ϖονηριας απειροις ἑυρεθη σωτηριας ὁδος κ̀ δια θαλασσης, ειτε κατα βȣλησιν Θεȣ, ειτε αυτοματον· ὁποτε κ̀ τοις περι τον Αλεξανδρον τον βασιλεα της Μακεδονιας χθες κ̀ προην γεγονοσιν ὑπεχωρησε το Παμφυλιον πελαγος,* κ̀ ὁδον αλλην ουκ εχȣσι παρεσχε την δ'αυτȣ, καταλυσαι την Περσων ἡγεμονιαν τȣ Θεȣ θελησαντος· κ̀ τȣτο παντες ὁμολογȣσιν ὁι τας Αλεξανδρȣ πραξεις συγγραψαμενοι· περι μεν ȣν τȣτων ὡς ἑκαςω δοκει διαλαμβανετο·" Joſephus. Lib. 2. Chap. 16. Tom. 1.--115.

* "La mer de Pamphile ſe retira pendant deux jours," is the French verſion. We learn from the Greek original that the ſea "Ὑπεχωρησε" retired, withdrew itſelf, but there is not a ſyllable that ſpecifies the duration of the receſs.

[k] Reland hath very ably vindicated the Jewiſh hiſtorian, reſpecting the laſt ſentence of the Greek quotation from the imputation of incredulity, and he hath proved by repeated inſtances that

though there were not any of the ſupernatural circumſtances reſpecting the march under mount Climax, and he violates by the indecency [1] of the parallel both the ſacred evidence of hiſtory and the religious creed of his anceſtors.

After

that Joſephus made uſe of ſimilar expreſſions, when not an atom of a doubt could have remained upon his mind. Whiſton hath tranſlated the whole of the remarks, (Joſephus, Vol. 2. Diſſertation. 1ſt. Sec. 82.) but I was ſorry to obſerve that the "Ειτε αυτοματον" hath been left by them both to ſhift for itſelf.——The learned Michaelis, in his notes on the 14th Chapter of Exodus, conſiders the event as a natural effect of a very violent wind, which blew in a direct oppoſition to the tide, but he afterwards allows, "Moïſe ne put par aucun raiſon humaine prevoir le deſſechement de la mer qui ſauva et lui et le peuple, il agit par inſpiration divine. Ce deſſechement fut une œuvre de la Providence, qui avoit reſolu de delivrer ſon peuple. La previſion certain de cet evenement etoit ſurnaturelle au ſupreme degrè, puiſqu'il n'eſt jamais arrivé que cette ſeule fois, et ſa connoiſſance prouvoit la miſſion divine de Moïſe autant qu'aucun miracle eut pu le faire. Moïſe qui contre le bout de ſa marche et ſans neceſſité ſe tourna vers le coté d'Afrique de la mer-rouge qui lui coupoit le chemin de l'Aſie, qui ſe vit environné d'Egyptiens et qui auroit du perir, s'il n'etoit arrivé un fait inoüi et unique: ce Moïſe qui au lieu d'exhorter ſon peuple refferré entre la mer et l'ennemi à une vigoureuſe defenſe, lui promet, que Dieu le delivrera ſans armés, lui ordonne de marcher vers la mer, ſur laquelle il etend ſa verge, et lui commande d'ouvrir un chemin a ce peuple, et qui agit comme s'il prevoyoit d'une maniere ſure cette ebe extraordinaire arrivée cette ſeule fois dans notre monde, cet homme doit tenir ſa miſſion du maitre de la nature, qui ſeul pouvoit reveler ce qu'il avoit arrangé dans celle-ci pour le ſalut des Iſraelites."——Monſieur Niebuhr hath cited in his deſcription of Arabia this paſſage from Michaelis, and he very ſenſibly obſerves, "J'avoue, que le decouvrement du fonds de la mer qui même ſelon Monsr Michaelis etoit ſurnaturel au ſupreme degré, l'operation de la Providence, la tempète ſuppoſée qui dans l'eſpace de 24 heures ſouffloit de deux plages contraires, pendant que le vent y eſt conſtamment fix mois Nord et fix mois Sud, l'obeiſſance de la mer qui offrit au peuple d'Iſrael un chemin des que Moïſe avoit etendu ſa main ſur elle, j'avoue, dis-je, que toutes ces circonſtances me paroiſſent autant de miracles. Si tout cela s'eſt paſſé tres naturellement, je ne ſais pas encore ce que les ſavans entendent par le mot de miracle." (Deſcription de l'Arabie, 359, 360.) I refer the curious reader to this authentic traveller for ſome elucidations on this ſubject, and he may be farther gratified on conſulting, the Eſſai Phyſique ſur l'heure des marées dans la mer rouge of Monsr Michaelis, and Le Clerc Differt. de Traject. Mar. Idum.

[1] Joſephus hath been ſuppoſed by ſome perſons, to have endeavoured to prove the poſſibility of

After the battle of Granicus, Alexander paſſed victoriouſly through Ionia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphylia, when he quitted the borders of the Ægean ſea to penetrate into the interior part of the country, by Piſidia and the greater Phrygia to Gordium,[m] the

of the paſſage of the Iſraelites from Alexander's march; but whatever may have been his doubts and intentions, the miraculous paſſage of the Iſraelites is recorded on evidence that is indiſputable. The veracity of the event is confirmed by various alluſions to it in the ſacred writings, and it is referred to by the prophets, (Iſaiah 63. V. 12, 13. Habakkuk 3. 10.) who lived comparatively ſpeaking, at no great diſtance from the time of this ſignal interpoſition of the Divinity in favour of his choſen people, and muſt have received the tradition, whilſt all its wonderful circumſtances were freſh upon the memory; who were above impoſition; and who were immediately inſpired by Omnipotence. As to the parallel itſelf, there is certainly an indecency in it, and what is more extraordinary, there is not the leaſt reſemblance.——In the paſſage of the Iſraelites, Moſes ſtretches out his rod, and the ſea in obedience opens and divides; the wind blows with violence from a new and unuſual point of the compaſs; the waters become a wall on the right hand and on the left, and the Children of Iſrael continue their route on the dry ſand.——Alexander on the contrary, with a part of his army made his way through the ſea with the water up to the waiſt, as Strabo (Lib. 14. Tom. 2.—982.) expreſsly tells us, and owed in all likelihood the ſafety of the paſſage to the fortunate circumſtance of a ſtrong wind, ſetting off the ſhore and againſt the tide, which he had the good ſenſe to take advantage of.

[m] It was at Gordium that Alexander cut the celebrated knot, on which the future deſtiny of Aſia depended. Q. Curtius hath given the following account of it. "Notabile erat jugum adſtrictum compluribus nodis in ſemetipſos implicatis, et celantibus nexus. Incolis deinde adfirmantibus, editam eſſe oraculo ſortem, Aſiæ potiturum, qui inexplicabile vinculum ſolviſſet: cupido inceſſit animo ſortis ejus implendæ. Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba, et Macedonum: illa expectatione ſuſpenſa, hæc ſollicita ex temerariâ regis fiduciâ. Quippe ſeries vinculorum ita adſtricta, ut unde nexus inciperet, quove ſe conderet, nec ratione, nec viſu percipi poſſet, ſolvere adgreſſo injeceret curam, ne in omen verteretur inritum inceptum. Ille nequaquam diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis; nihil, inquit, intereſt quomodo ſolvantur; gladioque ruptis omnibus loris, oraculi ſortem vel eluſit, vel implevit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1—57, 58.) This was an expeditious method of ſolving the difficulty, but Ariſtobulus, according to Arrian, hath related the anecdote very differently. "Αριστοβουλος δε λεγει, εξελοντα τον εστορα τω ρυμω, ὁς ην τυλος διαβεβλημενος δια του ρυμω διαμπαξ, ξυνεχων τον δεσμον, εξελκυσαι εξω του ρυμου τον ζυγον·" He adds howeyer afterwards,

the ancient capital of the province. From Gordium he directed his march towards the Eaſt and arrived at Ancyra,[n] where he received the Paphlagonian deputies. They were charged with a commiſſion to offer him the homage of their nation, and to requeſt that he would not order any of his forces into their territories. The negotiation was ſucceſsful, and their petition was agreed to, on a promiſe of their obedience to Calas, the Satrap of Phrygia. The ſtory then of Q. Curtius, who tells us, that the Macedonian army entered into Paphlagonia,[o] hath no truth in it; and it is indeed contradicted by the hiſtorian himſelf, who makes Alexander

afterwards, that he was doubtful how the knot was abſolutely looſened, though he conſidered the intention of the Oracle to have been fulfilled, from the ſubſequent appearances in the heavens. "Οπως μεν δη επραχθη τα αμφι τω δεσμω τουτω Αλεξανδρω, ουκ εχω ισχυρισασθαι· Απηλλαγη δ'ουν απο της ἁμαξης αυτος τε και οι αμφ'αυτον, ὡς του λογιου του ετσι τη λυσει τε δεσμε ξυμβεβηκοτος. Και γαρ και της νυκτος εκεινης βροντας τε και σελας εξ ουρανε επεσημηναν και επι τουτοις εθυε τη ὑστεραια Αλεξανδρος τοις φηνασι θεοις τα τε σημεια, και τε δεσμε την λυσιν"' Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 3.--110, 111.

n "Επ'Αγκυρας της Γαλατικης εξελλετο, κακει αυτω πρεσβεια αφικνειται Παφλαγονων το τε εθνος ενδιδοντων, κ) ες ὁμολογιαν ξυμβαινοντων· ες δε την χωραν ξυν τη δυναμει μη εσβαλειν εδεοντο· Τουτοις μεν δη προσασσει Αλεξανδρος ὑπακουειν καλα τω σατραπη της Φρυγιας"' Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.--111.

o "Jamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat; ubi numero copiarum inito, Paphlagoniam intrat. ———Omniſque hæc regio: paruit regi datiſque obſidibus, tributum quod ne Perſis quidam tuliſſent, pendere ne cogerentur impetraverunt. Calas huic regioni præpoſitus eſt." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. C. 1.Tom. 1.—59.) It appears from this paſſage of Q. Curtius, that Alexander marched after his arrival at Ancyra into Paphlagonia, which was then much nearer him, and conſequently the Baron de St. Croix's reaſoning is not applicable. The error may have ariſen from the city Ancyra in Phrygia having been miſtaken for the Ancyra in Galatia, where the Paphlagonian deputies met Alexander, and which Arrian hath aſcertained by the "Της Γαλατικης"' If Alexander was ſatisfied with the offers of the deputies, he certainly did not march into Paphlagonia againſt their explicit ſtipulation. The two hiſtorians are at iſſue on the pōint: I do not mean to decide the difference, but to ſtate it fairly.

Alexander to march from Gordium to Ancyra, by which he muſt have paſſed Paphlagonia, at ſome diſtance on the left.

Cappadocia was involved in the fate of the neighbouring nations, and ſubmitted to the Macedonian Conqueror, who poſted a part of his troops on the ſame ground that the Younger Cyrus had halted upon, in his march to Cunaxa. Q. Curtius pretends that this poſt was the preciſe place, where Cyrus the Great had ſtopped in his expedition againſt Lydia.[p] Notwithſtanding a miſtake of this kind is of little conſequence, yet in one ſenſe it is material, and it may not be improper to refute it, in order to ſhew that he is very inaccurate in the moſt trifling details. We are told by Xenophon, who had a command under the Younger Cyrus, and was undoubtedly preſent, that he arrived at Dana[q] a great and flouriſhing

[p] "Ciliciam petens cum omnibus copiis, regionem quæ caſtra Cyri appellatur, pervenerat. Stativa ibi habuerat Cyrus, quum adverſum Cræſum in Lydiam duceret." Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. C. 4. Tom. 1.—82, 83.

[q] "Κυρος δε μετα των αλλων εξελαυνει δια Καππαδοκιας, σταθμους τεσσερας, παρασαγγας εικοσι και πεντε, προς Δαναν, πολιν οικεμενην, μεγαλην και ευδαιμονα. Ενταυθα εμειναν ἡμερας τρεις.——Ενταυθεν επειρωντο εσβαλλειν εις την Κιλικιαν ἡ δε εισβολη ην ὁδος ἁμαξιτος, ορθια ισχυρως, και αμηχανος εισελθειν στρατευματι ει τις εκολυεν" (Xenophon de Cyri Exped. 17, 18. 4to Oxon. 1735.) Monſieur d'Anville thinks the text to have been corrupted, and that "Τυανα" is the true reading, but if he founds his opinion on Strabo, "Κυρνα στρατοπεδον δια Τυανων," (Lib. 12. Tom. 2.--813.) it is ſuſpicious authority, and even Strabo wants a correction before the "Κυρνα" can be transformed into "Κυρα." ——Hutchinſon ſeems to be of an opinion that "Αδανα" was the proper name of the city in queſtion, and in ſupport of it, he cites the following authors.---Ptolem. Lib. 5. Chap. 8.---Seylac Perip.--40.---Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 5. Chap. 27.---Steph. Byzant. Appian de Bello Mith.---Procop. Lib. 5. Ædific. 65.---Anton. Itin. 580.---See the diſſertation prefixed to his edition of the Anabaſis.

flouriſhing city, and after ſtaying there three days traverſed the boundaries of Cilicia.—Alexander's route agrees with that of the Younger Cyrus, and Arrian, who traces it with his uſual accuracy, hath alſo informed us, that the Grecian Hero occupied the ſame ground before he paſſed the Gorges of Cilicia, that the Perſian Prince had previouſly encamped on, with the ten thouſand Greeks.[r]—As the Macedonian army deſcended into the plains of Cilicia, Arſames evacuated the province, which according to Q. Curtius, Darius had entruſted to him, and retreating with the forces under his command, ſet the city of Tarſus on fire,[s] and laid

[r] "Arrian nous dit que le Conquerant Macedonien campa," (a repetition in ſubſtance of the "Qui campa avec ſon armée") but the text of Arrian will hardly reach theſe expreſſions, as Alexander marched immediately to carry this dangerous paſs by ſurpriſe, and left Parmenio with only the heavy armed infantry on this celebrated ground, who joined him early the next day. I have uſed a term that appears to me more analogous to the Greek.—"Προηγεν επι τας πυλας της Κιλικιας. Και αφικομενος επι το Κυρε του ξυν Ξενοφωντι στρατοπεδον, ὡς κατεχομενας τας πυλας φυλακαις ισχυραις ειδε, Παρμενιωνα μεν αυτου καταλειπει συν ταις ταξεσι των πεζων, ὁσοι βαρυτερον ὡπλισμενοι ησαν· ——Τη δ'ὑστεραια ἁμα τη εω ξυν τη δυναμει παση ὑπερβαλων τας πυλας, κατεβαινεν ες την Κιλικιαν" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.-111,112.) The deſcription which Q. Curtius hath left us of this paſſage, correſponds ſo perfectly with that of Xenophon, that there can be little doubt but they meant it for the ſame. "Anguſtias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit, hoſtem jugumque imminens unde inultus ſubeuntem aut prohibere aut opprimere, potuiſſet.——Alexander fauces jugi, quæ Pylæ appellantur, intravit. Contemplatus locorum ſitus, non alias magis dicitur admiratus eſſe felicitatem ſuam: obrui potuiſſe vel ſaxis confitebatur, ſi fuiſſent, qui in ſubeuntes propellerent." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--84, 87.) The only heſitation that can remain will be, whether greater credit is due to Arrian and Xenophon, or Q. Curtius.

[s] "Brula la ville de Tarſe." I do not find that the city of Tarſus is ſaid to have been actually burnt by Arſames, though it was ſet on fire if we are to believe Q. Curtius, and ſaved from deſtruction by the fortunate arrival of Parmenio. "Pervenit ad urbem Tarſon, cui tum maxima Perſæ ſubjiciebant ignem; ne opulentum oppidum hoſtis invaderet. At ille Parmenione ad inhibendum

laid the whole country waſte. Arrian on the contrary, aſſures us that Alexander overreached Arſames, and that the Perſian general abandoned Tarſus and Cilicia without ſuch devaſtation,[t] or doing them any damage.——Information was given Alexander at Mallos, that Darius was encamped at Sochus in the Commagene, and on the receipt of the intelligence, he began his march, paſſed the mountains of Cilicia, and pitched upon a camp near the Myriander. Underſtanding that the Perſian army had changed its poſition, and quitted the advantageous poſt that it had occupied, he repaſſed the mountains in the night[w] by the Gorges of Syria, at the very hour that the Perſian troops were defiling by thoſe of Amanica, two paſſes which ſerve for a communication between Cilicia and the regions on this ſide of the Euphrates.[x] Q. Curtius hath given a very confuſed account of theſe important marches, and hath left the different movements of the armies in great obſcurity.[y] Diodorus[z] is ſtill leſs exact.

bendum incendium cum expeditâ manu premiſſo, poſtquam barbaros adventû ſuorum fugatos eſſe cognovit, urbem â ſe conſervatam intrat." Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--88.

[t] "Ως τε ὁ Αρσαμης μαθων αυτου την ὁρμην σπουδη φευγει εκ της Ταρσου παρα βασιλεα Δαρειον, ουδεν βλαψας την πολιν" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.--112.

[w] "Forte eâdem nocte et Alexander ad fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Darius ad eum locum quem Amanicas Pylas vocant, pervenit." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.—107, 108.) Arrian hath deſcribed theſe manœuvres more at large. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 7, 8.--119, 124.

[x] See Cellarii Geograph. Ant. Lib. 3. Chap. 6.

[y] "Q. Curce pour n'etre pas entre dans aucun detail." Inſtead of it, he enters into an account of theſe movements to ſome extent, (Lib. 3. Chap. 8, 9, 10.) but he certainly entangles himſelf in a labyrinth of confuſion.

[z] Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—183. Scarce worth a reference.

At the break of day the Macedonians deſcended from the mountains, and diſcovered with aſtoniſhment the Perſian line extended to a great length upon the plain. Alexander loſt no time in forming his army, the right being protected by the mountains and the left by the ſea,[a] a poſition which ought to have pointed out to Quintus Curtius the folly of advancing that the right was ſurrounded by the enemy.[b] This memorable battle was fought near Iſſus, and the Perſian cavalry performed prodigies of valour, though fortune again followed the Macedonian ſtandard. Many of the nobility of the Perſian court fell in this engagement, and after a gallant and generous defence of their unfortunate Monarch, were ſlain immediately before his eyes.[c]——The Greeks in the Perſian pay overturned every thing that was oppoſed to them, and the Macedonian phalanx manœuvring on unequal ground was under the neceſſity of breaking, and only repulſed at laſt with the utmoſt difficulty the repeated attacks that were made upon it by the enemy. Alexander was wounded in the action, but not by Darius, as Chares hath related, which was a circumſtance that he certainly

[a] "Ως δε διεχωρει ες πλατος, ανεπτυσσεν αει το κερας, ες φαλαγγα, αλλην και αλλην των ὁπλιτων ταξιν παραγων, την μεν, ὡς επι το ὁρος, εν αριστερα δε, ὡς επι την θαλασσαν·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 8.--124, 125.

[b] "Dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11. Tom.—124.

[c] "Circa currum Darii jacebant nobiliſſimi duces, ante oculos regis egregiâ morte defuncti, omnes in orâ proni, ſicut dimicantes procubuerant, adverſo corpore vulneribus acceptis." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 1. Tom. 1.--127.) Diodorus Siculus adds his teſtimony to the ſlaughter round Darius. "Περι μεν το τε Δαρειε τεθριππον ταχυ νεκρων εσωρευθη πληθος·" Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--185.

certainly would not have omitted in his letter to Antipater, where he ſimply mentions his being wounded in the thigh.[d] Q. Curtius[e] reduces the loſs of the conquerors to thirty-two of their infantry, and one hundred and fifty of their cavalry. Juſtin[f] makes it amount to one hundred and fifty of the former, and his number of the latter agrees with that of Q. Curtius and alſo Diodorus Siculus,[g] though the Grecian writer differs widely from them as to the infantry, and calculates the killed alone at three hundred. Arrian[h] only mentions the death of Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus, and of one hundred and twenty Macedonians of rank and dignity, who fell in the attack of the phalanx.[i] If however ſuch a conſi-

N derable

[d] "Τρωθηναι ξιφει τον μηρον, ὡς μεν Χαρης φησιν, απο Δαρειου (συμπεσειν γαρ αυτους εις χειρας) Αλεξανδρῳ δε περι της μαχης επιστελλων τοις περι τον Αντιπατρον, ουκ ειρηκεν, ὁστις ην ὁ τρωσας, ὁτι δε τρωθειη τον μηρον εγχειριδιῳ, δυσχερες δ'ουδεν απο τε τραυματος συμβαινι, γεγραφεν." (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--675.) Diodorus Siculus ſeems alſo to prove that the Macedonian Hero was wounded in the heat of the conflict, by ſome unknown hand. "Συνεβη και αυτον τον Αλεξανδρον τρωθηναι τον μηρον, περιχυθεντων των πολεμιων." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--185.) and Q. Curtius only mentions the accident in general terms.---"Inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone perſtrictum eſt." Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11. Tom. 1.--128.

[e] "Ex parte Alexandri quatuor et quingenti faucii fuere: triginta omnino et duo ex peditibus deſiderati ſunt: equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti." Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11.---135.

[f] "Ex Macedonibus cecidere pedeſtres centum triginta, equites centum quinquaginta." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9.--279.

[g] "Των δε Μακεδονων πεζοι μεν εις τριακοσιους, ἱππεις δε περι ἑκατον και πεντηκοντα." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--187.

[h] "Ενταυθα πιπτει Πτολεμαιος τε ὁ Σελευκη, ανηρ αγαθος γενομενος, και αλλοι ες εικοσι μαλιστα και ἑκατον, των ουκ ημελημενων Μακεδονων." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--134.) Arrian hath left us in the dark as to the whole of Alexander's loſs, but the ſilence is ſuſpicious.

[i] "Dans un ſeul choc." I do not find that this expreſſion is correct. Arrian in the paſſage juſt

derable number of perſons of diſtinction fell in the attack of the phalanx only, our ideas of the number of the ſlain on the whole field of battle during this action, which was as long as it was bloody, muſt be very different from the accounts of the hiſtorians, that have been referred to. And though the hiſtorians agree in the loſs of the defeated army, no ſubſtantial reaſon is to be deduced from it, that adds any further credit to their calculations. One hundred thouſand of the Perſian infantry, and ten thouſand of their cavalry periſhed in this fatal day, according to the general account,[k] which was more than a ſixth of their whole forces, which they reckoned at ſix hundred thouſand men. Juſtin hath not adopted a much more moderate opinion, though he only reckons ſixty-one thouſand of their infantry[l] to have been killed, as he reduces the Perſian army to four hundred thouſand infantry, and one hundred thouſand cavalry.[m] Perhaps the text of this writer may have been corrupted, and we ought to read three hundred

juſt cited makes uſe of the term "Ενταυθα πιπτει," but it has not by any means that limited ſignification. I have left it more at large, and the Baron de St. Croix had before termed the attacks of the phalanx "Vives et reiterées."

[k] "Πληθος εις δεκα μαλιστα μυριαδας ἡ εν τουτοις, ἱππεις υπερ τους μυριους" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.) "In acie autem cæſa ſunt Perſarum peditum centum millia, decem vero millia interfecta equitum." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11.--134, 135.) "Κατα δε την μαχην ετελευτησαν των βαρβαρων πεζοι μεν πλειους των δεκα μυριαδων, ἱππεις δε ὀυκ ελαττους των μυριων" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--187.

[l] "Cæſa ſunt peditum unum et ſexaginta millia, equitum decem millia." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9.---279.

[m] "Darius cum quadringentis millibus peditum et centum millibus equitum in aciem procedit." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9.---277.

hundred thouſand men inſtead of four hundred thouſand, as the correſponding paſſage of Paulus Oroſius[n] his copyiſt gives us room to imagine. The manœuvres of the two armies on this celebrated day are deſcribed with great perſpicuity by Arrian, and he ſeems to be entirely free from the groſs errors, with which Polybius hath reproached Calliſthenes. The fragment of this author which contains this piece of military criticiſm, is entitled to a quotation at its full length.[o]——"In the account then which Calliſthenes has given of this battle, he relates; that Alexander had already led his army through the paſſes which are called the Pylæ of Cilicia, when Darius, having advanced along the paſſes of the mountain Amanus, and being informed by the people of the country, that his enemy ſtill continued his march forwards into Syria, reſolved to follow him. That when he arrived near the paſſes of Cilicia, he encamped along the river Pyramus: that the ground which he occupied contained a ſpace of only fourteen ſtadia from the ſea to the foot of the mountain: and that the river, falling down the craggy ſides of the mountain, ran obliquely through this ground, and paſſing over the plain, between

 ſome

[n] "Darius cum trecentis millibus peditum et centum millibus equitum in aciem procedit." P. Oroſius. Lib. 3. Chap. 16.---182.

[o] "Φησι μεν, Αλεξανδρον ηδε διαπεπορευσθαι τα ςενα, ϗ τας λεγομενας εν τη Κιλικια Πυλας· Δαρειον δε, χρησαμενον τη δια των Αμανιδων λεγομενων Πυλων πορεια, καταραι μετα της δυναμεως εις Κιλικιαν. πυθομενον δε παρα των εγχωριων, προαιειν τον Αλεξανδρον ὡς επι Συριαν, ακολουθειν· ϗ συνεγγισαντα τοις ςενοις, ςρατοπεδευσαι παρα τον Πιναρον ποταμον· ειναι δε τε μεν τοπε το διαςημα ου πλειω των τετταρων ϗ δεκα ςαδιων απο θαλαττης ἑως προς την παρωρειαν. δια δε τετε φερεσθαι τον προειρημενον ποταμον επικαρσιον, απο μεν των ὁρων ευθεως εκρηγματα (πολλα ποιουντα) των πλευρων, δια δε των επιπεδων ἑως εις θαλασσαν

ſome hills that were rough and difficult of approach, diſcharged itſelf into the ſea. After this deſcription, he ſays; that, when Alexander returned back again with a deſign to engage, Darius and his officers drew up the whole phalanx in order of battle upon the very ground upon which they had encamped; and that they were covered in front by the river, which ran cloſe to the camp: that they poſted the cavalry near to the ſea: next to theſe, in the ſame line, the mercenaries, along the bank of the river, and laſtly the Peltaſtæ, adjoining to the foot of the mountain.

But it is not poſſible to conceive, that theſe troops could have been thus drawn up in order of battle between the phalanx and the river, if the river ran cloſe to the camp: eſpecially if we conſider the numbers of which the ſeveral bodies were compoſed. For the cavalry, as Calliſthenes himſelf affirms, amounted to thirty thouſand; and the mercenaries to as great a number. Now it is eaſy to determine, what extent of ground this number of troops would require. The uſual method of drawing up cavalry in

λασσαν αποτομως εχοντα ϗ δυσβατες λοφως. Ταυτα δ'ὑποδεμενῳ, επει συνεγλιζοιεν οἱ περι τον Αλεξανδρον, εξ ὑποστροφης επ'αυτους αναχωρηντες· κριναι, φησι, Δαρειον ϗ τες ἡγεμονας, την μεν φαλαγγα ταξαι πασαν εν αυτη τη στρατοπεδεια, καθαπερ εξ αρχης ειχε, χρησασθαι δε τω ποταμω προβληματι, δια το παρ'αυτην ρεειν την στρατοπεδειαν. Μετα δε ταυτα, φησι, τες μεν ἱππεις ταξαι παρα θαλατταν, τες δε μισθοφορες ἐξης τετοις παρ'αυτον τον ποταμον εχομενες τουτων, τους δε πελτας συναπτοντας τοις ορεσι.

Πως δε προεταξε τουτους προ της φαλαγγος, τε ποταμε ρεοντος παρ'αυτην την στρατοπεδειαν, δυσχερες καταμαθειν· ϗ ταυτα τω πληθει τοσετων ὑπαρχοντων. τρισμυριοι μεν γαρ ἱππεις ὑπηρχον, ὡς αυτος ὁ Καλλισθενης

in the time of action is to range them eight in depth. It is necessary also to leave a certain space between each of the troops in front, that they may be able to perform their several motions. A single stadium then will contain eight hundred horse; ten stadia, eight thousand; and four stadia, three thousand and two hundred. According to this computation, a body of eleven thousand and two hundred horse would have filled the whole extent of fourteen stadia. And if the whole thirty thousand were formed in order of battle, there must have been three such bodies, within a very small number at least, drawn up each behind the other. In what place then were the mercenaries ranged? Was it behind the cavalry? But Callisthenes says no such thing. On the contrary he affirms, that the mercenaries were engaged against the Macedonians in the very beginning of the action. It is manifest therefore, that one half of the ground that has been mentioned, the part that was on the side of the sea, was occupied by the cavalry; and the other half, which was next to the mountain, by the mercenaries. And from hence we may clearly judge, what must have been the depth of the cavalry; and, by consequence, how very distant the river must have been from the camp.

Afterwards

Καλλισθενης φησι, τρισμυριοι δε μισθοφοροι. ποσου δ'ειχον ὑτοι τοπȣ χρειαν, ευχερες καταμαθειν. Πλειστον μεν γαρ ἱππεων ταττεται βαθος επ'οκτω προς αληθινην χρειαν· ϗ μεταξυ των ιλων ἑκαςης συνυπαρχειν δει διαςημα τοις μετωποις, προς το ταις επιςροφαις δυνασθαι ϗ τοις περισπασμοις ευχρηςειν. εξ ὡν το ςαδιον οκτακοσιȣς λαμβανει, τα δε δεκα τȣς οκτακισχιλιȣς, τα δε τετταρα τρισχιλιȣς διακοσιȣς· ὡς'απο των μυριων χιλιων διακοσιων πεπληρωσθαι τον των τεσσαρεσκαιδεκα ςαδιων τοπον. εαν δε παντας εκτατη τȣς τρισμυριȣς, βραχυ λειπει τȣ τριφαλαγγιαν επαλληλον ειναι των ἱππεων αὑτων. Εις ποιον ȣν τοπον ετατ-

τετο

Afterwards he relates, that, when the enemy approached, Darius, who was in the centre of the line, called the mercenaries to him from one of the wings. But how was this poſſible? The very part in which the mercenaries were joined to the cavalry was itſelf the centre. If Darius then was among the mercenaries, how, or from whence, or to what place did he call them? He then adds alſo, that the cavalry upon the right wing advanced, and vigorouſly charged the Macedonians: that the latter received them with equal courage; and that the fight on both ſides was maintained with the greateſt bravery. But he forgets that there was a river between this cavalry and the Macedonians; and ſuch a river too, as he had juſt before deſcribed.

Nor is this writer more exact in his account with reſpect to Alexander. He ſays, that this Prince firſt carried with him into Aſia forty thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe: and that, when he was ready to enter Cilicia, a new ſupply arrived from Macedon, of five thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe.

τετο το των μισθοφορων πληθος; ει μη νη Δια κατοπιν των ἱππεων. αλλ' ὲ φησιν, αλλα συμπεπωτωκεναι τυτυς τοις Μακεδοσι κατα την επαγωγην. ἐξ ὠν αναγκη, ποιεισθαι την εκδοχην, διοτι το μεν ἡμισυ τυ τοπυ, το παρα θαλατταν, ἡ των ἱππεων επειχε ταξις, το δ' ἡμισυ, το προς τοις ορεσιν, ἡ των μισθοφορων. εκ δε τυτων συλλογιζον, ποσον ὑπηρχε το βαθος των ἱππεων, ϗ ποιον εδει τοπον απειχειν τον ποταμον απο της στρατοπεδειας. Μετα δε ταυτα συνεγλιζοντων των πολεμιων, φησι, τον Δαρειον αυτον, κατα μεσην ὑπαρχοντα την ταξιν, καλειν τυς μισθοφορυς απο τυ κερατος προς αυτον. πως δε λεγεται τυτο, διαπορειν εχι. των γαρ μισθοφορων αναγκη ϗ των ἱππεων την συναφην κατα μεσον ὑπαρχειν τον τοπον. ὡς' εν αυτοις ων τοις μισθοφοροις ὁ Δαρειος, πε, ϗ προς τι, ϗ πως εκαλει τυς μισθοφορυς; Το δε τελευταιον φησι, τυς απο του δεξιου κερατος ἱππεις επαγαλλονταις εμβαλειν τοις περι τον Αλεξανδρον· τυς δε γενναιως δεξαμενυς αντεπαγειν, ϗ ποιειν μαχην ισχυραν. ὁτι δε ποταμος ην εν μεσω, ϗ ποταμος, οιον αρτιως ειπεν, επελαθετο.

Τουτοις

horſe. If we take then from theſe three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe; which is the greateſt number that can be allowed for occaſional and abſent ſervices; there will remain forty-two thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. With this army Alexander, as the hiſtorian writes, being informed, after he had advanced beyond the Pylæ, that Darius had entered Cilicia, and was at the diſtance of only a hundred ſtadia behind him, immediately returned, and directed his march back again through the paſſes: having the infantry in his van; behind theſe, the cavalry; and the baggage in the rear. As ſoon as he came into the open plain, he ſeparated the army from the baggage, and formed the troops into a phalanx, by thirty-two in depth. At ſome diſtance afterwards, he ranged them by ſixteen in depth: and at laſt, when he was come near to the enemy, by eight.

Now theſe abſurdities are even greater than thoſe that were before remarked. For when a body of troops marches by ſixteen in depth, if we allow the uſual intervals of ſix feet between every rank,

Τουτοις δ'εςι παραπλησια τα κατα τον Αλεξανδρον. φησι γαρ, αυτον ποιησασθαι την εις την Ασιαν διαβασιν, πεζων μεν εχοντα τετταρας μυριαδας, ἱππεις δε τετρακισχιλιους καὶ πεντακοσιους. μελλοντι δ'εις Κιλικιαν εμβαλλειν, αλλους ελθειν εκ Μακεδονιας, πεζους μεν πεντακισχιλιους, ἱππεις δε οκτακοσιους. αφ'ὡν ει τις αφελοι τρισχιλιους μεν πεζους, τριακοσιους δ'ἱππεις, επι το πλειον ποιων την απουσιαν προς τας γεγενημενας χρειας· ὁμως πεζοι μεν απολειφθησονται τετρακισμυριοι δισχιλιοι, (ἱππεις δε πεντακισχιλιοι.) Τουτων ουν ὑποκειμενων, φησι, τον Αλεξανδρον πυθεσθαι την Δαρειου παρουσιαν εις Κιλικιαν, ἑκατον απεχοντα ςαδιους απ'αυτου, διαπεπορευμενον ηδη τα ςενα. διοπερ ἐξ ὑποςροφης παλιν ποιεισθαι την πορειαν δια των ςενων, αγοντα πρωτον μεν την φαλαγγα, μετα δε ταυτα τους ἱππεις, επι πασι το σκευοφορον. ἁμα δε τω πρωτον εις τας ευρυχωριας εκπεσειν, διασκευαζεσθαι παραγγειλαντα πασιν επιπαρεμβαλειν την φαλαγγα, καὶ ποιησασθαι το βαθος αυτης επι τριακοντα καὶ δυο, μετα δε ταυτα παλιν εις ἑκκαιδεκα, το δε τελευταιον, εισεγγιζοντα

τοις

rank, a ſtadium will contain only ſixteen hundred men; ten ſtadia, ſixteen thouſand; and twenty ſtadia, thirty-two thouſand. If Alexander therefore formed his phalanx by ſixteen in depth, he muſt have filled a ſpace of twenty ſtadia, and would ſtill have wanted room for all his cavalry, and for ten thouſand of his foot. Calliſthenes then adds, that when this Prince was at the diſtance of forty ſtadia from the enemy, he ordered the phalanx to advance in an extended front towards them. A greater abſurdity than this is ſcarcely to be conceived. For where is the ground, eſpecially in Cilicia, that will admit ſuch a phalanx as is here deſcribed to advance in an extended front againſt an enemy: a ground, containing twenty ſtadia in depth, and forty in length? The impediments alſo, which would inevitably break the order of ſuch a diſpoſition, are too many to be recounted. Calliſthenes himſelf has mentioned one, which is alone ſufficient. For he ſays, that the torrents, which deſcended from the hills, had formed ſo many pits in the plain, that the greateſt part of the Perſians were loſt in thoſe cavities as they fled.

But

τοις πολεμιοις, εις οκτω. Ταυτα δ'εστι μειζω των προειρημενων αλογηματα. τα γαρ σταδια λαμβανοντων ανδρας εν τοις πορευτικοις διαστημασιν, όταν εις έκκαιδεκα το βαθος ωσι, χιλιους έξακοσιους, έκαστα των ανδρων έξ ωδας απεχοντων· φανερον, ότι τα δεκα σταδια ληψεται μυριους έξακισχιλιους, τα δε εικοσι τους διπλασιους. εκ δε τουτων ευθεωρητον, ότι, καθ'ον καιρον εποιησε την δυναμιν Αλεξανδρος έκκαιδεκα το βαθος, αναγκαιον ην, εικοσι σταδιων ύπαρχειν το του τοπου διαστημα, ϗ περιτρεχειν ετι τους μεν ίππεις παντας, των δε πεζων μυριους.

Μετα δε ταυτα φησι, μετωπηδον αγειν την δυναμιν, απεχοντα των πολεμιων περι τετταρακοντα σταδιους. Τουτο δε μειζον αλογημα δυσχερες επινοησαι. που γαρ αν ευροι τις τοιουτους τοπους, αλλως τε ϗ κατα Κιλικιαν, ώστε επι σταδιους εικοσι μεν το πλατος, τετταρακοντα δε το μηκος, μετωπηδον αγειν φαλαγγα σαρισσοφορον;

But Alexander, perhaps this writer might ſay, was willing to be ready to receive the enemy, in what part ſoever they ſhould come to attack him. But nothing is more unfit for this purpoſe than the phalanx formed in an extended front, if this front be broken and diſunited. And would it not alſo have been much more eaſy, to have ranged the ſeveral parts of this great body in the very order in which they followed each of them the other in the march: inſtead of forming the whole army in a ſingle line, in which there muſt have been many vacancies, and leading it in an extended front to action, over a ground that was covered with buſhes and broken cavities. He ought rather then to have formed a double, or a quadruple phalanx. One part following behind another. For if the ground would have admitted this order in the march, there would have been time ſufficient to draw up the troops in the ſame order in battle: eſpecially as he might have received notice from his ſcouts of the approach of the enemy, even while they were at a conſiderable diſtance from him.

Another fault in this deſcription is, that the hiſtorian, while he repreſents the phalanx as advancing in an extended front over a

O plain,

φορον; τοσαυτα γαρ εςιν εμποδια προς την τοιαυτην ταξιν ϗ χρειαν, ἁ τις ȣδ' εξαριθμησαιτο ραδιως. εκ δε των ὑπ' αυτȣ τȣ Καλλισθενȣς λεγομενων ἱκανον ὑπαρχει προς πιςιν. τȣς γαρ ἀπο των ορων χειμαρρȣς καταφερομενȣς τοσαυτα φησι ποιειν εκρηγματα κατα το πεδιον, ὡςε ϗ των Περσων κατα την φυγην διαφθαρηναι λεγȣσι τȣς πλειςȣς εν τοις τοιȣτοις κοιλωμασι. Νη Δι, αλλ' ἑτοιμος εβȣλετ' ειναι προς την των πολεμιων επιφανειαν. Τι δ' ανετοιμοτερον φαλαγγος εν μετωπω διαλελυμενης ϗ διεςραμμενης; ποσω γαρ εκ πορευτικης αγωγης ἁρμοζουσης παραταξαι ραδιον, η διαλελυμενην εν μετωπω ϗ διεσπασμενην δυναμιν επι την αυτην ευθειαν αναγαγειν. ϗ συςησαι προς μαχην εν τοποις ὑλωδεσι ϗ περικεκλασμενοις; Διοπερ ȣδε παρα μικρον ην

κρειττον,

plain, forgets to make the cavalry march before; and places them upon the ſame line with the infantry. But the greateſt of all his miſtakes is this which follows. He ſays that Alexander, when he approached the enemy, drew up the phalanx eight in depth. The whole line therefore muſt have been equal in length to forty ſtadia. Or, let it be ſuppoſed, that the men ſtood ſo cloſe together, as even to be wedged one within another. In that caſe, they muſt have covered at the leaſt twenty ſtadia. And yet Calliſthenes had before affirmed, that the whole length of the ground was leſs than fourteen ſtadia: that a part of it, which was neareſt to the ſea, was occupied by one half of the cavalry: that the other half was poſted upon the right: and that between the whole line and the mountain there was left alſo a conſiderable diſtance; that the troops might not fall under a body of the enemy, which was poſted upon the ſides of the mountain. I know indeed, that, in order to oppoſe this body, he here forms a part of the line in the figure called the Forceps. Let us allow then ten thouſand men; which is even a greater number than this purpoſe would require.

κρειττον, αγειν διφαλαγγιαν η τετραφαλαγγιαν αρμοζουσαν· ει μη τοπον προς πορειαν ευρειν ουκ αδυνατον, μη το παραταξαι ταχεως ραδιον γε, δυναμενον δια των προδρομων εκ πολλου γινωσκειν την των πολεμιων παρουσιαν. Ὁ δε, χωρις των αλλων, εδε τους ἱππεις προεθετο, μετωπηδον αγων την δυναμιν εν τοποις επιπεδοις· αλλ' εξ ισου ποιει τοις πεζοις.

Το δε δη παντων μεγιστον· ηδη γαρ συνεγγυς οντα τοις πολεμιοις αυτον, εις οκτω ποιησαι φησι το βαθος. εξ ὁ δηλον, ὁτι κατ' αναγκην επι τετταρακοντα σταδιους εδει γενεσθαι το μηκος της φαλαγγος. ει δ' ὁλως συνησπισαν κατα τον ποιητην ὁυτως, ὡστε συνερεισαι προς αλληλους, ὁμως εικοσι σταδιων εδει τον τοπον υπαρχειν. αυτος δε φησι, λειπειν των δεκατεσσαρων σταδιων. και τουτο μερος μεν τι προς θαλατη της ἡμισειας επι τω δεξι-

require. In that caſe it is evident, that there would remain according to Calliſthenes, eleven ſtadia only at the moſt, for the length of the whole line: and that thirty-two thouſand men, contained in a ſpace of this extent, how cloſely ſoever they were crouded, muſt neceſſarily have been formed by thirty in depth. And yet Calliſthenes affirms, that at the time of the action they were ranged by eight. Miſtakes like theſe cannot even be excuſed. For what credit is to be given to things that are impoſſible? When a writer lays down the exact meaſure of the ground, fixes the number of the men, aſcertains the diſtance of one man from another, and gives afterwards an account which is wholly incompatible with all theſe circumſtances; the falſehood is too glaring to be pardoned.

It would be tedious to examine all the errors into which this writer has fallen. One or two more however may juſt be mentioned. He ſays that Alexander took care to draw up his army in

 ſuch

ϑ' ετι δε την ὁλην ταξιν απο των ορων ἱκανον τοπον αφεσαναι, προς το μη τοις πολεμιοις ὑποπεπτωκεναι τοις κατεχυσι τας παρωρειας. ισμεν γαρ ὁ ποιει προς τετες επικαμπιον. ὑπολειπομεθα ϗ νυν ἡμεις τας μυριας πεζες, πλειες οντας της εκεινε προθεσεως ὡς'εκ τουτων ἑνδεκα σαδιους επι το πλειον απολειπεσθαι το της φαλαγγ⊙ μηκ⊙, κατ'αὐτον τον Καλλισθενην, εν ὁις αναγκη τους τρισμυριους ϗ δισχιλιους επι τριακοντα το βαθ⊙ ὑπαρχειν συνεσπικοτας. ὁ δε φησιν, εις οκτω τεταγμενων γενεσθαι την μαχην. Τα δε τοιαυτα των ἁμαρτηματων ουδ'απολογιαν επιδεχεται· το γαρ αδυνατον εν παραγμασιν αυτοθεν εχει την πιςιν. διοπερ ὁταν ϗ τα κατ'ανδρα διαςηματα, ϗ το παν του τοπου μεγεθ⊙ ὡρισμενον ὑποθωσι, ϗ τον αριθμον των ανδρων, αναπολογητον γιγνεται το ψευδ⊙.

Τα μεν γαρ ἁμα τουτοις αλογηματα μακρον αν ειη λεγειν παντα, πλην τελεως ολιγων. Φησι γαρ, τον Αλεξανδρον σπουδαζειν κατα την ταξιν, ἱνα κατα τον Δαρειον αυτον ποιησηται την μαχην. ὁμοιως δε κατα

μεν

ſuch a manner, that he might himſelf be engaged againſt Darius: and that Darius alſo had at firſt the ſame intention with reſpect to Alexander; but that he afterwards altered his deſign. But he neither mentions, how theſe princes knew, in what part of their reſpective armies they ſeverally intended to engage; nor to what other part Darius retired, after he had changed his purpoſe. How again was it poſſible for the phalanx to advance, in order of battle, up the bank of a river, which was broken and uneven, and covered alſo with buſhes in almoſt every part? Such an abſurdity can never be aſcribed to Alexander; who is acknowledged to have been trained both in the ſtudy and the exerciſe of war from his earlieſt age. It muſt therefore be imputed to the hiſtorian himſelf; who, from a want of ſkill in matters of this kind, was unable to diſtinguiſh what was poſſible to be done from that which was impracticable."[p]

If the ſpectators of theſe actions have publiſhed ſuch faulty relations of them, and committed ſuch conſiderable miſtakes, the later writers who have too confidently followed them, muſt undoubtedly have been led into many errors by theſe dangerous guides.

The

μεν αρχας κ᾽ τον Δαρειον αυτον βουλεσθαι κατα του Αλεξανδρον, ὑϛερον δε μετανοησαι. ωως δ᾽επεγνωσαν αλληλους ἑτοι, ωου της ιδιας δυναμεως εχουσι την ταξιν, η ωου μετεβη ωαλιν ὁ Δαρειος, ἁπλως ουδεν λεγεται. ωως δε ωροσανεβη ωρος την οφρυν του ωοταμου φαλαγγιτων ταξις, ἀποτομον ουσαν κ᾽ βατωδη; κ᾽ γαρ τουτο ωαρα λογον. Αλεξανδρω μεν ουν ουκ εποιϛεον την τοιαυτην ατοπιαν ὁμολογουμενην, ωαραλαμβανοντας ωερι αυτου την εν τοις ωολεμικοις εμπειριαν κ᾽ τριβην εκ ωαιδος· τω δε συγγραφει μαλλον. ὁς δια την απειριαν ουδε το δυνατον κ᾽ το μη δυνατον εν τοις τοιουτοις δυναται διευκρινειν." Polybius. Lib. 12. Chap. 17, 18. Tom. 3.--416——427.

[p] Hampton's Polybius. Vol. 4.--77——86. 8vo Edit. 1773.

The battle of Iſſus was fought in the month Mæmacterion, in the fourth year of the 111th Olympiad, when Nicocrates was Archon,[q] 333 years before Chriſt, and it decided the fate of Syria. Tyre had notwithſtanding the courage to ſhut its gates againſt the Conqueror, and to puniſh a reſiſtance as extraordinary as new to him in the regions of the Eaſt, it was immediately beſieged. All the reſources of art were employed in the defence of this unfortunate city, and they were ſeconded by the bravery of the inhabitants, who buried themſelves under its ruins. An accuracy, which leaves the reader nothing to deſire on the ſcore of information, diſtinguiſhes the pen of Arrian[r] in his account of the labours of this memorable ſiege; whilſt Q. Curtius,[s] from the luxuriance of his imagination, is rather the poet than hiſtorian. The conſtruction of the mole, which Alexander made for the purpoſe of joining[t] Tyre to the continent, was too remarkable a piece of work to be paſſed over, without the embelliſhment of ſome fictitious decorations. An immenſe ſea-monſter agitated for ſome time the water, then forced itſelf upon the Grecian works, and after having been the aſtoniſhment of the beſiegers and beſieged, again plunged

[q] In Arrian, Nicoſtrates. "Τουτο τελος τη μαχη εκεινη εγενετο, επι αρχοντος Αθηναιοις Νικοςρατου, μηνος Μαιμακτηριωνος." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--139.) But Diodorus Siculus hath "Νικοκρατους." Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--181.

[r] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 18.--154——157.

[s] Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2, 3, 4. Tom. 1.--166——188.

[t] "Urbem â Continenti quatuor ſtadiorum fretum dividit." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--167.) A diſtance of about eight hundred yards. According to Scylax, "Απεκει ςαδια απο θαλαττης, γ." (Perip. 101.) which reduces it to ſix hundred.

plunged into the boſom of the deep. Sometimes the enormous beaſt was wholly viſible; ſometimes it was partly concealed by the waves, and it finally diſappeared near the city walls.[v] Q. Curtius adds, that the aſſailants believed the monſter to have pointed out to them the preciſe place, towards which they were to carry on their works. The Tyrians entertained a different opinion of the prodigy, and conſidering it as an indication of Neptune's reſentment at the Macedonian encroachment on his empire of the ſea, they flattered themſelves with the expectation of ſeeing the whole ſpeedily ſwept away.

Alexander during the ſiege of Tyre, according to Arrian[w] and Q. Curtius,[x] made an excurſion into Arabia. Plutarch[y] only tells us that he marched againſt the Arabs of Anti-Libanus, which Q. Curtius miſtakes for Libanus itſelf. The firſt of theſe mountains,

[v] "Belua inuſitatæ magnitudinis, ſuper ipſos fluctus dorſo eminens, ad molem, quam Macedones jecerant, ingens corpus adplicuit; diverberatiſque fluctibus adlevans ſemet, utrinque conſpecta eſt, deinde â capite molis rurſus alto ſe immerſit; ac modo ſuper undas eminens magnâ ſui parte, modo ſuperfuſis fluctibus, condita, haud procul munimenta urbis emerſit. Utriſque lætus fuit beluæ adſpectus: Macedones iter jaciendo operi monſtraſſe eam augurabantur; Tyrii Neptunum occupati maris vindicem adripuiſſe beluam, ac molem brevi profecto ruituram." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--183, 184.

[w] "Εν τουτω δε αναλαβων των δε ἱππεων ιλας τινας, καὶ τες ὑπασπιςας, καὶ τες Αγριανας τε καὶ τες τοξοτας, επ' Αραβιας ςελλεται εις τον Αντιλιβανον καλεμενον το ορος." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 20.--160.

[x] "Cum expeditâ manu Arabiam petiit." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 3. Tom. 1.--174.

[y] "Δια μεσε δε της πολιορκιας επι τες Αραβας τες περοικουντας τω Αντιλιβανω ςρατευσας." Plut. Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--678.

tains, from the proximity of its ſituation, naturally furniſhed the Macedonian army with many of the materials, which they wanted for the ſiege; and as the Arabs had diſturbed and plundered the workmen,[z] Alexander went with a detachment againſt them, to repreſs their depredations, and revenge the inſult, which gave occaſion to the ſuppoſed conqueſt of Arabia. Pliny[a] then advances without any foundation whatever, that the Conqueror, after having reduced the country, diſpatched a veſſel freighted with incenſe, for Leonidas his preceptor.

A civil war prevented Carthage from affording Tyre any ſuccours in its diſtreſs;[b] but Q. Curtius is guilty of an Anachroniſm,

[z] "In Libano quoque Arabum agreſtes incompoſitos Macedones adgreſſi triginta fere interficiunt, paucioribus captis." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--174.

[a] "Alexandro Magno in pueritiâ ſine parſimoniâ thura ingerenti aris, pædagogus Leonides dixerat, ut illo modo, cum deviciſſet thuriferas gentes, ſupplicaret. At ille Arabiâ potitus, thure onuſtam navem miſit ei, exhortatus ut large Deos adoraret. (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 12. Chap. 32. Tom. 3.--26.) Pliny appears to have borrowed this anecdote from Plutarch, but it hath loſt nothing by the repetition. "Επιθυμιωντι δε τοις Θεοις αφειδως αυτω, κ) πολλακις επιδρατ)ομενω τε λιβανωτε, παρων Λεωνιδης ὁ παιδαγωγ&, Ουτως, ειπεν, ω παι δακ)ιλως επιθυμιασεις, ὁταν της Λιβανωτοφορε κρατησης· ὡς αν εκρατησεν, επεμψεν επιστολην προς αυτον, Απεσαλκα σοι ταλαντα ἑκατον Λιβανωτε κ) κασιας ἱνα μηκετι μικρολογη προς τες Θεες, ειδως ὁτι κ) της αρωματοφορε κρατεμεν." (Plutarch. Apothegm. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--179.) The "navem onuſtam" I ſuſpected from the firſt.

[b] "Je ne vois dans l'hiſtoire," ſays Monſr Bougainville, "aucun fait qu'on puiſſe appliquer ici, ſi ce n'eſt peut etre le complot tramé contre la liberte de Carthage, par un de ſes premiers citoyens, que Juſtin nomme Hannon." (Juſt. Lib. 21. Chap. 4.--471, 472.) "Cette conſpiration n'eut pas de ſuites, quoique le chef de l'enterpriſe eut armé vingt mille eſclaves, et ſoulevé quelques nations Africaines ſujettes de la republique. Mais tant que la revolte dura, l'alarme dut etre vive à Carthage; et comme l'auteur qui nous apprend le fait, n'en donne point la date, on peut, ſi je ne me trompe, preſumer que ce fut cette guerre domeſtique qui reduiſit les Carthaginois à n'etre que

nism,[c] when he tells us that the Syracusians, who were then wasting Africa rendered it impracticable for the Carthaginians to send the powerful reinforcement to their metropolis, that they intended. ——The successful descent of Agathocles,[d] near Tunis, 310 years before Christ, was the only instance in which the Syracusian colours appeared floating in the plains of Africa, and this was twenty-two years after the capture of Tyre, which was taken in the month Hecatombœon, in the first year of the 112th Olympiad, at the commencement of the magistracy of Anicetus, called Nicetus

que spectateurs oisifs du desastre de Tyr. Memoires sur le Voyage d'Hannon." (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des belles lettres. Tom. 28.--282.) Reineccius hath nearly the same ideas.—Hist. Jul. 11.--455.

[c] "In iisdem diebus forte Carthaginiensium legati triginta superveniunt, majus obsessis solatium quam auxilium: quippe domestico bello Pænos impediri, nec de imperio sed pro salute dimicare nuntiabant. Syracusani tunc Africam urebant, et haud procul Carthaginis muris locarunt castra." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 3. Tom. 1.--179.) The commentators have unanimously admitted the falsity of this historical error, and the Jesuit Rader (ad Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 11.--144) hath supposed, that Timoleon had defeated about this time the Carthaginians, and ravaged all their territories in Sicily, and that they were apprehensive of his landing with his troops and attacking Carthage. Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch, in their abstract of this great man's life, have given an account of his very formidable operations; but as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 16. Tom. 2.--145.) that a peace was agreed to by the Carthaginians and Timoleon, when Lysimachides was Archon at Athens, in the second year of the 110th Olympiad, and Tyre was not besieged till the latter end of the fourth year of the 111th Olympiad, an interval of nearly six years must have effectually relieved them from any fears of such a serious attack.---Timoleon also died in the fourth year of the 110th Olympiad, four years before the siege of Tyre.

[d] "Agathocles, victis hostibus, urbes castellaque expugnat, prædas ingentes agit, hostium millia trucidat. Castra deinde in quinto lapide â Carthagine statuit, ut damna carissimarum rerum, vastitatemque agrorum, et incendia villarum, de muris specularentur." (Justin. Lib. 22. Chap. 6.--488.) The Baron de St. Croix's expression is "Par sa descente aux Lathomies pres de Tanete." Diodorus Siculus states it "Προς τας καλουμενας Λατομιας," and he adds afterwards "Τυνητα καλουμενον αναζευξας." (Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--410, 411.) Strabo fixes the situation more precisely: "Εν αυτω δε τω κολπω εν ὡ περ ϗ ἡ Καρχηδων Τυνις εςι πολις, ϗ Θερμα, ϗ λατομιαι τινες" Lib. 17.--1191.

Nicetus[e] by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, and Nicerates by Diodorus Siculus.[f]

Tyre, celebrated for its riches, and its numerous colonies, was taken by aſſault after a reſiſtance, that could not have been expected from a commercial people, who had long neglected their military eſtabliſhment. But the love of liberty will often animate the common boſom with ſuperior energy, and in a phrenſy for their Freedom, men of ordinary capacities are frequently expanded into heroes. The loſs of the beſieged is reckoned at ſeven thouſand by Diodorus Siculus,[g] and at ſix thouſand by Q. Curtius,[h] but the difference in the calculation of the number of the priſoners is more conſiderable. The latter writer ſtates thoſe only, who were ſaved by a pious fraud of the Sidonians in Alexander's camp, at fifteen thouſand:[i] Diodorus Siculus reckons them excluſive of

 thoſe

[e] Dion. Halicarnaſſ. de Dinarcho. Tom. 5.--649.

[f] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--189. Much information on this ſubject may be collected from Meurſius de Archon. Athen. Lib. 4. Chap. 13.

[g] "Οι δε Τυριοι περος αλκην τραπεντες, και παρακαλεσαντες αλληλους, ανεβραξαν τους ςενωπους, και μαχομενοι πλην ολιγων απαντες κατεκοπησαν, οντες πλειους των επτακισχιλιων" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2. --195.

[h] "Intra munimenta urbis ſex millia armatorum trucidata ſunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--187.) Arrian ſwells the account to eight thouſand: "Απεθανον δε των μεν Τυριων ες οκτακισχιλιους" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.--171.) but he certainly takes in the whole ſiege.

[i] "Le dernier ecrivain les fait monter à 15,000," but in the paſſage of Q. Curtius that is referred to, he hath only taken into his account the priſoners ſaved by the Sidonians, which is a circumſtance that the Baron de St. Croix hath not attended to. "Multis tamen ſaluti fuere Sidonii,

thoſe that were tranſported to Carthage, to have been above thirteen thouſand,[k] and Arrian takes the whole to have amounted to thirty thouſand,[l] which hath the appearance of moſt probability, and is more conſiſtent with the population of a city as flouriſhing as Tyre was then known to have been.[m] Two thouſand of theſe miſerable captives were faſtened upon croſſes, and hung up by the order of the Conqueror, according to Q. Curtius[m] on the ſhore; and Diodorus Siculus[n] aſſures us that even all the Tyrian youth was compriſed within this ſanguinary ſentence. It is however ſuppreſſed by Arrian,[o] and if we are to reaſon from the humanity

Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum præſidia erant, hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant, ſed cognationis cum Tyriis memores (quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidiſſe credebant) multos Tyriorum etiam protegentes, ad ſua perduxere navigia: quibus occultatis, Sidona devecti ſunt. Quindecim millia hoc furto ſubducta ſævitiæ ſunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--186, 187.

k "Diodore à 13,000." The Greek text eſtimates them at ſomewhat above thirteen thouſand. "Σωματα δ'αιχμαλωτα τοσαυτα το πληθος ευρεθη, ὡστε των πλειστων εις Καρχηδονα κεκομισμενων, τα ὑπολειφθεντα γενεσθαι πλειω των μυριων ἡ τρισχιλιων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--196.

l "Και επραθησαν Τυριων τε ἡ ξενων ὁτοι εγκατελημφθησαν, μαλιστα ες τρισμυριους." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.-171.) Though there muſt have been many foreigners in a commercial city like Tyre, yet in compariſon with the reſt of the inhabitants they could hardly form an item in the calculation.

m "Triſte deinde ſpectaculum victoribus ira præbuit regis. Duo millia, in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies, crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris ſpatium pependerunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap 4. Tom. 1.--187.

n "Τους δε λοιπους παντας, ὀντας ουκ ελαττους των δισχιλιων, ἐκρεμασε." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--195.

o This barbarous anecdote is recorded by Diodorus Siculus and Q. Curtius, and though Arrian hath omitted it, I fear, it was from that ſort of diſcreet ſilence, which furniſhes a ſtrong preſumptive

humanity, which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed Alexander's actions, whoſe heart proſperity had not yet hardened, a doubt, for his honour, may be ſtill entertained of this ſignal inſtance of cruelty and vengeance.—Notwithſtanding the preciſion with which Juſtin ſpeaks of the ſiege of Tyre,[p] he hath to anſwer for ſome groſs errors. This city, he pretends, was ſoon treacherouſly delivered into Alexander's hands, but from its vigorous reſiſtance for ſeven months, it is evident that it was not ſo very ſpeedily captured; and as all the hiſtorians agree in the account of its obſtinate defence, the Tyrian glory is not to be ſullied by the ſuppoſed

 infamy

ſumptive evidence of the truth of the accuſation. In the lax ſyſtem of ancient morality, the moſt flagrant abuſes of the right of conqueſt were not uncommon; and we frequently read of whole nations being exterminated with a ſtern indifference to their ſufferings. Julius Cæſar in a later period put the whole Senate of Vannes to death, though they had ſurrendered and thrown themſelves upon his mercy, (Cæſar de Bello Gallico. Lib. 3. Chap. 16.--152. 4to 1737.) and the ſame deſtructive principles are often viſible in the future progreſs of the Gallic war. (Cæſar de Bello Gallico. Lib. 6. Chap. 43.--340. Lib. 7. Chap. 28.--372.) In juſtice to Alexander's character, he certainly had ſome provocations for his extraordinary irritation. Q. Curtius tells us, "Quum et claſſem procul haberet, et longam obſidionem magno ſibi ad cetera impedimento videret fore: caduceatores qui ad pacem eos compellerent, miſit; quos Tyrii contra jus gentium occiſos præcipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille ſuorum tam indigna nece commotus, urbem obſidere ſtatuit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--171.) And Arrian hath ſubſtantiated the fact, though it varies in a few particulars. "Οργη γαρ εχωρουν επιπων οἱ Μακεδονες, της τε πολιορκιας τη τριβη αχθομενοι, ϗ ὁτι λαβοντες τινας αυτων οἱ Τυριοι πλεοντας εκ Σιδονος, επι το τειχος αναβιβασαντες ὁπως αποπτον ειη απο τȣ ςρατοπεδȣ, σφαξαντες ερριψαν εις την θαλασσαν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.--170, 171.) Retaliation and revenge were cardinal virtues in many Pagan codes of Ethics, and it is no wonder, that ſuch a ſpectacle ſhould have been followed by ſevere and exemplary vengeance.

[p] "Non magno poſt tempore per proditionem capiuntur." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 10.--284.

infamy of a few traitors.——It is the wiſh of Polyænus [q] to reduce almoſt all military manœuvres to ſtratagems, and we need not therefore be ſurpriſed to receive the information, that Alexander ſet out for Arabia, and the beſieged in his abſence made an advantageous and ſucceſsful ſally. On the intelligence of this accident, which Parmenio conveyed to him, he returned immediately, and whilſt one part of the army made a feint of retreating and raiſing the ſiege, he entered with another body of his troops into Tyre, which had been left open and unguarded. Such circumſtances are exactly conſonant to the plan of Polyænus, but they do not in the leaſt coincide with the relations of the other hiſtorians.

Alexander marched from Tyre to Gaza, and from Gaza into Egypt. This was the Macedonian route, as related unanimouſly and without any difference, by all the hiſtorians of the Conqueror's exploits. Joſephus hath alone the confidence to contradict the united evidence of the companions of Alexander's arms, and he tells us that the Conqueror, being diſſatisfied with the Jews, advanced after the capture of Gaza towards Jeruſalem, [r] with the reſolution

[q] "Αλεξανδρος Τυρε πολιορκιαν περιβαλων επ' Αραβιας εξελλετο· Τυριοι της απουσιας αυτε καταφρονησαντες, των τειχων προελθοντες, τοις Μακεδοσι προσπεσοντες εκρατουν πολλαχη· Παρμενιων Αλεξανδρον ανακαλειται· Ὁ δε δια ταχους επανελθων, Μακεδονων τους εγκλινοντας ιδων, τοις ητιμενοις εκ εβοηθησεν· ες δε την πολιν κενην ανδρων ὁρμησας, κατα κρατος αιρει την Τυρον." Polyænus. Lib. 4. Chap. 8.--327. 8vo 1691.

[r] "Ὁ δε Αλεξανδρος εξελων την Γαζαν, επι την των Ιεροσολυμιτων πολιν αναβαινειν εσπευδακει." Joſephus. Ant. Jud. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--580.

reſolution of chaſtiſing[s] them for their attachment to Darius, and their refuſal of military ſuccours and proviſion for the Macedonian army. But a general of Alexander's talents could not have been ſo imprudent as to have left a city of this magnitude behind him, whoſe enmity to him was decided, and whoſe inhabitants might have cut off his ſupplies. Arrian, who hath minutely attended to every action of his hero, would undoubtedly have mentioned the reduction of a place of ſuch importance, and in the very circumſtantial journal of Alexander's marches which he hath preſerved, that to Jeruſalem would not have been omitted. The pacific diſpoſition of the Jews, when the Conqueror approached, would as certainly have been ſpoken of, if this expedition from Gaza had not been an anachroniſm of Joſephus, who ſeems to have varied the order of events, without breaking in upon their truth.[t]

Arrian

[s] "Qui avoient donné du ſecours aux Tyriens." There is not a ſingle ſyllable expreſſive of any ſupport having been given to the Tyrians. I have abandoned, therefore, the ſenſe of the French ſentence and ſubſtituted in ſome meaſure the original ſentiment of Joſephus. "Ηξιω τε, αποστειλας γραμματα προς τον των Ιουδαιων αρχιερεα, συμμαχιαν τε αυτω πεμπειν, κ) αγοραν τω στρατευματι παρασχειν, κ) οσα Δαρειω προτερον ετελουν δωρα τουτω διδοναι, την Μακεδονων φιλιαν ἑλομενον, ὁ γαρ μετανοησειν επι τουτοις· τα δε αρχιερεως αποκριναμενα τοις γραμματοφοροις, ὡς ὁρκοις ειη Δαρειω δεδωκως, μη βαστάζειν ὁπλα κατ' αυτου, κ) τουτου εως αν η Δαρειω εν τοις ζωσι μη παραβησεσθαι φησαντος· ακουσας Αλεξανδρος παρωξυνθη, κ) την μεν Τυρον εκ εκρινε καταλιπειν, ὁσον οὐπω μελλουσαν ἁιρεσθαι· παρασκησαμενος δε ταυτην, ηπειλησε στρατευειν επι τον των Ιουδαιων αρχιερεα, κ) διδαξειν παντας δι αυτου, προς τινας δη αυτοις φυλακτεον τους ὁρκους· ὁθεν πονικωτερον χρησαμενος τη πολιορκια, λαμβανει την Τυρον· κατασκησαμενος δε τα εν αυτη, επι την Γαζαιων πολιν ηλθεν." Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1--579, 580.

[t] I cannot ſubſcribe without ſome limitations to the authority of as late a writer as Euſebius, but his reſidence in Paleſtine, as Biſhop Newton obſerves (Diſſertation on the Prophecies. 15.—

Arrian [v] only tells us, that all Paleſtine had ſubmitted, Gaza excepted, and conſequently Alexander had no occaſion to quit the line of his intended march, and enter Judæa, for the purpoſe of reducing it. An examination of the circumſtances, related by the Jewiſh hiſtorian, may perhaps lead us to a definitive opinion on their authenticity.

The high prieſt Jaddua, [w] in the habit of the prieſthood, and its ſplendid ornaments, leaves Jeruſalem to meet the Conqueror, and implore his clemency. Alexander ſtruck with his majeſtic mien, and venerable appearance, proſtrates himſelf before him, and adores the Deity, whoſe name was engraven in golden characters upon the tiara of the pontiff. [x] Parmenio, continues Joſephus,

Vol. 2.--41.) adds weight to his evidence, and he aſſerts that Alexander marched from Tyre into Judæa. "Αλεξανδρος Τυρον ἁμα Σιδωνι δηωσας επι την Ιȣδαιαν ελθων, ϗ ταυτην παραλαβων, τον ἱερεα Ιαδδȣν ετιμησε, θυσας τε τω Θεω·" (Chron. Can. 177.) Uſher agrees with him in opinion, (Annales, 160. Fol. 1722.) and alſo our Prideaux, who imagines Joſephus to have been miſtaken. Connect. of the hiſtory of the old and new Teſtament. Part. 1ſt. Book 7. Vol. 1.--386. Fol. 1728.

v "Και ην αυτω τα μεν αλλα της Παλαιςινης καλȣμενης Συριας, προσκεχωρηκοτα ηδη· ευνȣχος δε τις ὡ ονομα ην Βατις, κρατων της Γαζαιων πολεως, ȣ προσειχεν Αλεξανδρω·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 25.--173.

w "Προεισι μετα των ἱερεων ϗ τȣ πολιτικȣ πληθȣς, ἱεροπρεπη ϗ διαφερȣσαν των αλλων εθνων ποιȣμενος την ὑπαντησιν εις τοπον τινα Σαφα λεγομενον,——————Ὁ Αλεξανδρος, ετι πορρωθεν ιδων το μεν πληθος εν ταις λευκαις εσθησι, τȣς δε ἱερεις πρωεςωτας εν ταις βυσσιναις αυτων, τον δε αρχιερεα εν τη ὑακινθινη ϗ διαχρυσω ςολη, ϗ επι της κεφαλης εχοντα την κιδαριν, ϗ το χρυσȣν επ' αυτης ελασμα, ὡ το τȣ Θεȣ εγεγραπτο ονομα, προσελθων μονος, προσεκυνησε το ονομα, ϗ τον αρχιερεα πρωτος ησπασατο." Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--581.

x "Ce prince avoit ſans doute un interprete pour connoitre le ſens de l'inſcription." I do not think this ſceptical ſneer deſerves a tranſlation. It is in fact but the Crambe concocta of Vandale. "Unde

ſephus,[y] expreſſed his aſtoniſhment to Alexander, and aſked his reaſons for this extraordinary humiliation, and why he had fallen ſo inconſiſtently at the high prieſt's feet, when univerſal adoration had hitherto been paid to him. Alexander replied, that he did not worſhip the high prieſt, but the Deity, whoſe miniſter he was; and he then informed his general, that a perſon like Jaddua, and in his habit, had appeared to him in a dream before he left Macedonia, and had announced to him the ſupport of heaven in the war that he then meditated againſt the Perſian empire. The Prince added, that on his ſeeing the high prieſt, he inſtantly recollected the figure in ſtature and dreſs, which had appeared to him.

The obſervation of Parmenio is a ſuſpicious circumſtance,[z] as Alexander had not hitherto pretended to any divine honours, nor exacted

"Unde vero is quoque inſcriptionem iſtam in laminâ Tiaræ legere, atque ita intelligere potuerit, quod illa veri Dei nomen eſſet, ut inde talis adoratio ipſius, ante alloquium pontificis ſecuta ſit, non comprehendo." Diſſert. ſuper Ariſtæam. 77.

y "Παρμενιων δε μονε προσελθοντα αυτω, και θαυμαζε, τι δηποτε προσκυνεται των αυτα προσκυνησε των Ιεδδαιων αρχιερεα ε τετον, ειπε, προσκυνησα, τον δε Θεον, ε τη αρχιερωσυνη αυτα τετιμηται· τετον γαρ και κατα τας ὑπνες ειδον εν των νυν σχηματι, εν Διω της Μακεδονιας τυγχανων· και προς εμαυτον διασκεπτομενω μοι πως αν κρατησαιμι της Ασιας, παρεκελευετο μη μελλειν, αλλα θαρσυντα διαβαινειν· αυτος γαρ ἡγησεσθαι μοι της στρατιας και την Περσων παραδωσειν αρχην· ὁθεν αλλον μεν ἑδεκα θεασαμενος εν τοιαυτη στολη· τετον δε νυν ιδων και της κατα τας ὑπνες επιμνησθεις οψεως τε και παρακελευσεως, νομιζω θεια πομπη την στρατειαν ποιεισθαι· Δαρειον νικησειν, και την Περσων καταλυσειν δυναμιν, και παντ' ὀσα κατα νεν εσι μοι προχωρησειν·" Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--581.

z "La diſcours de Parmenion prouve la fauſſeté de tout ce recit." I differ in opinion, and have accordingly qualified the expreſſion. The ſubject I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to reſume.

exacted any adoration before the death of Clitus, which happened long after this ſuppoſed interview, ſo little appoſite to the character and genius of the Grecian Hero. Beſides, the high prieſt Jaddua died, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, ſome years before Darius mounted the Perſian throne.—The immortal Newton, who hath poured ſuch an effuſion of light on the ſucceſſion of the Jewiſh high prieſts after the return of that nation from captivity, makes alſo Jaddua to have lived under Artaxerxes Mnemon; and Simon the Juſt, agreeable to his computation, was the high prieſt at the time of the invaſion of the Perſian empire by the Greeks, who had ſucceeded to the exerciſe of this high function, on the death of his father Onias the ſon of Jaddua. [a]

Alexander, on his entry into Jeruſalem, went up to the temple, where they ſhewed him the paſſages in the prophecies of Daniel, which related to him, and he afterwards offered ſacrifices to the Deity on the Jewiſh altars. [b] Jealous of this preference, the Samaritans requeſted that he would alſo honour their city with his devotions. [c] But Joſephus here contradicts himſelf, and forgets his

[a] Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology of ancient kingdoms. 363, 365. 4to 1728.

[b] "Εις την πολιν παραγινεται· κ) ανελθων επι το ἱερον, θυει μεν τω Θεω κατα την τὸ αρχιερεως ὑφηγησιν, αυτὸν δε τον αρχιερεα κ) τὺς ἱερεις αξιοπρεπως ετιμησε· δειχθεισης δε αυτω της Δανιελε βιβλε, εν ἡ τινα των Ελληνων καταλυσειν την Περσων αρχην εδηλε, νομισας αυτ῟ειναι ὁ σεμαινομεν῟, τοτε μεν ἡσθεις απελυσε το πληθ῟." Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1--582.

[c] "Και παρεκαλεν, παραγενομενον προς την πολιν αυτων τιμησαι κ) το παρ'αυτοις ἱερον·" Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--581, 582.

his having mentioned the permiſſion to build a temple, given by Alexander during the ſiege of Tyre to theſe enemies of the Hebrews,[d] which could not have been finiſhed in ſuch a ſhort ſpace of time.

The ſame hiſtorian informs us, that Alexander was attended in this expedition by Phœnicians and Chaldæans,[e] but was it poſſible for them to have accompanied him, when they were at that time his declared enemies, and had not then acknowledged him for their maſter?[f] The high prieſt, is ſaid likewiſe, to have applied to the Conqueror for a grant to the Jews, who were at Babylon,

 and

[d] "Προς Αλεξανδρον ἡκε· ϗ καταλαβων αυτον της Τυρȣ πολιορκιας———συγχωρησαντος δε Αλεξανδρȣ, πασαν εισενεγκαμενος σπȣδην, ωκοδομησεν ὁ Σαναβαλλετης τον ναον." (Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.--580.) Prideaux admits the Samaritan temple, in which Alexander was requeſted to ſacrifice, muſt have been ſome other temple, or that Joſephus muſt have been miſtaken reſpecting it, as the foundations of that, which Alexander allowed them to build, could ſcarcely have been laid by this time. (Connect. of the Hiſtory of the old and new Teſtament. Part 1ſt. Book 7. Vol. 1.--386.) Joſephus however makes uſe of the words "Σπȣδην ωκοδομησεν," and provided the materials were ready, and they had a ſufficient number of workmen, the building might have been ſoon run up. We are ſtrangers to the dimenſions of this edifice, but as Sanballat was the head only of a ſect, which had ſeparated from the mother church, in all likelihood it was not large. In the Jewiſh war, Joſephus hath likewiſe given as a wonderful example of the rapidity, with which a wall of very conſiderable extent was conſtructed, that ſurrounded Jeruſalem, "Το μεν ȣν τειχος ἑνος δεοντος τεσσερακοντα ϛαδιων ην, εξωθεν δε αυτω προσωκοδομηθη τρισκαιδεκα φρȣρια, ϗ τȣτων ὁι κυκλοι δεκα συνηριθμȣντο ϛαδιων· τρισι δ'ωκοδομηθη το παν ἡμεραις." De Bello Judaico. Lib. 5. C. 12. Tom. 2.--358.

[e] "Των δε Φοινικων ϗ των ακολȣθȣντων Χαλδαιων." Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.--581.

[f] Phœnicia, muſt, I apprehend, have been then conquered: as to the Chaldæans, ſome individuals undoubtedly might have attended Alexander, and Joſephus does not intimate their number.

and in Media, of the free exercise of their religion. [g] Yet this request, as the learned Moyle [h] hath judiciously observed, supposes Alexander to have been already in possession of that part of Asia beyond the Euphrates, which was evidently false, as it was reduced only under his subjection in the following year.

After a confirmation of the privileges of the Jewish nation, Alexander left Jerusalem, and marched with his army to the neighbouring cities. Josephus thus finishes his relation with an error. The Macedonian Conqueror neither retarded his march to attack places, which opened their gates to him, nor wasted his time in receiving their useless homages, but pushed forwards from Gaza directly to Pelusium.

To sum up the whole, the silence of Scripture weakens the credit of this narrative of Josephus; [i] which hath been adopted and

[g] "Ινα καὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Μηδίᾳ Ἰουδαίων τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιτρεπῇ νόμοις χρησάσθαι." Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.--582.

[h] Moyle's Remarks upon Prideaux. Connect. Moyle's Works. Vol. 2.--32. I confess I see no absurdity in this request. Alexander was then in a course of hostilities, which must directly have conducted him to Babylon and into Media, and the Jewish high priest might with strict propriety have petitioned for this liberty of conscience, foreseeing Alexander's future conquests, which were announced in the passages of the Prophet Daniel, that he had just shewn and explained to him.

[i] This hypothesis, though it may have a specious appearance of solidity, will not stand the test of severe and rigid examination. Numerous events are recorded in the sacred writings, but it cannot be from thence inferred, that they have recorded every event which happened. The Scriptural

and magnified by the writers of the middle age,[k] though its authenticity hath been diſputed by ſeveral modern authors.[l]

Taking into cool and candid conſideration the circumſtances of the event, they may not altogether be as glorious for the cauſe of religion, as ſome perſons, with more ſuperſtition than diſcernment, have piouſly believed. The true faith could not have received much honour from the caſual adoration of the worſhipper of other Deities, that it diſclaimed; and its hallowed altars were but little dignified with any incenſe from the hand, which was ready to ſcatter it with the ſame profuſion on thoſe of Apis and of Belus.

tural prophecies extended only to the great revolutions, which were to paſs in the world; and from the nature of them, it could not poſſibly be expected, that they ſhould have included events of a ſubordinate and inferior claſs. They ceaſed previous to Alexander's exiſtence, and the old Teſtament hath not tranſmitted to us any detail of the Jewiſh hiſtory later than that of Nehemiah, which ends at leaſt a century before the birth of Alexander. From the days of Nehemiah, there is a chaſm to the Apocryphal book of Maccabees, which commences with the laſt acts of Alexander's reign. The ſilence, therefore, of the ſcripture is not extraordinary, and weighs nothing in the ſcale of argument.

[k] Euſebius, Chronic. Num. 1685.—G. Syncellus. 260.—Cedrenus. 121.—Zonares. Lib. 4.--197, 198.

[l] This celebrated paſſage of Joſephus hath opened a wide and extenſive field of controverſy. Collins (Scheme of Lit. Prophecy. 452.) ruſhed on to the attack with all the impetuoſity of a Volunteer. Vandale (Diſſert. ſuper Ariſteam. Chap. 10.) and Moyle (Moyle's Works. Vol. 2. --26.) advanced with more regular approaches, and endeavoured to overpower it by weight of metal. The ſceptical Boyle (Dict. Article Macedo.) coldly admitted the poſſibility of its being ſupported, without throwing in a ſingle ſuccour for its relief; but the two Chandlers (Vindication of his defence. Chap. 2. Sect. 1.—And S. Chandler's vindication of Daniel. 76.) with Lloyd (Letter to Sherlock) and Prideaux (Connect. Part 1ſt. Book 7. Vol. 1.--384, 385.) have defended it with the ability of veteran Generals. Biſhop Newton (Diſſert. on the Prophecies. Vol. 2.) hath ſince thrown up a number of freſh Entrenchments.

In all likelihood the whole was a Jewiſh artifice, and a ſtratagem invented by that nation,[m] after the death of Alexander, to furniſh it with pretenſions to the favour and protection of his ſucceſſors. In later ages a ſimilar hiſtory prevailed in the Eaſt, and Ghengizkhan pretending to have ſeen in a dream a Chriſtian biſhop, ſent on the part of heaven to aſſure him of its aſſiſtance, the viſion of the Tartar prince was as advantageous to the Chriſtians of the Mogul empire, as that of Alexander had been to the Jews.[n]

Gaza

[m] I perſuade myſelf I am not capable of attempting to defend a paſſage if I believed it to be entirely untenable. I truſt, however, I may be allowed to ſuggeſt, that admitting many of the circumſtances related by Joſephus to be improbable; and, giving the objections in their wideſt range every advantage, erroneous; it ſtill does not follow that the whole is falſe. The dream and the interview may be ſubſtantially correct, the additional embelliſhments faulty and fictitious. The belief of the "Ονας εκ Διος εστι (Hom. Iliad. Lib. 1.--63.) was very ancient, and with the Jews, when the prophetic ſpirit ceaſed with Malachi, particular dreams were conſidered as a ſecondary kind of inſpiration, and the Almighty was ſuppoſed on extraordinary occaſions to adopt this method of communication. "The ſame Providence," to borrow an expreſſion of the late amiable and learned Dr. Jortin, "which conducted Cyrus and prevented the raſh Macedonian from periſhing till he had overthrown the Perſian empire,"* might have taken this mode of rouſing his ambition, and directing it to the great end which it had in view. Allowing the ſcriptural prophecies to allude to Alexander, which hath never been diſputed, he then becomes confeſſedly an immediate inſtrument in the hands of Providence, and I ſee no violation of conſiſtency in the ſuppoſition of his having been led by a preternatural impreſſion on his mind to their completion.

[n] "Ce fut par le même motif, que dans les ſiecles fort poſterieurs, les Chretiens de l'orient inventerent une hiſtorie à peu pres ſemblable. Ghengizkhan y joue le même role qu'Alexandre; et la viſion du prince Tartare eſt auſſi avantageuſe aux Chretiens, que celle du roi Macedonien l'avoit été aux Juifs." I owe the reader ſome explanation of my reaſons for this violent deviation from the ſenſe of the French ſentence. The Chriſtians are there expreſsly charged with a direct forgery, and the following evidence is referred to, in ſupport of the accuſation. "Apres avoir ainſi ſoumis toute la Tartarie, les Mogols marcherent vers Otrar, qui appartenoit au Sulthan de Khariſme. ——— Ghengizkhan qui n'etoit occupe que du projet de cette guerre, fit publier que Dieu

* Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Vol. 1.--36.

Gaza oppoſed the rapid progreſs of the Macedonian arms as much by its advantageous poſition, as the generous defence of its governor and garriſon. Alexander received a contuſion on the ſhoulder by the diſcharge of a catapulta,[o] and Q. Curtius hath deſcribed a ſingular conflict between an Arabian ſoldier and the Macedonian Monarch, in which he was again wounded.[p] This fact hath been diſcreetly ſuppreſſed by the other hiſtorians, and they have by this means avoided the abſurdity, that Q. Curtius hath been guilty of. After the reduction of Gaza, if we are to believe

Dieu lui accordoit ſa protection. Il pretendoit avoir vû en ſonge un Eveque, qui etoit venu lui annoncer de la part de Dieu, ce perſonage, comme il depeignit à ſon reveil, etoit Mardenha, Eveque du pays d'Igour. Ghengizkhan voulut le voir. On ajoute que c'eſt depuis ce temps-la, qu'il a protege toujours les Chretiens." (Hiſt. Gen. des Huns par Deguignes. Tom. 3.--41, 42.) I am afraid ſuch injurious miſrepreſentations could only ariſe from wilful inadvertency.

o "Αυτῳ δε βαλλεται καταπελτη δια της ασπιδῳ διαμπαξ, κ᾽ τε θωρακῳ ες τον ωμον." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177..) Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, if we are to believe the hiſtorians, had requeſted Alexander to be careful of his perſon on this day, and Arrian adds "Ταυτα ακουσας Αλεξανδῳ, τεως μεν προς ταις μηχαναις εξω βελες αυτον ειχεν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 26.--175.) Q. Curtius varies the account: "Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile eſt fatum. Quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat, ſagittâ ictus eſt: quam per loricam adactam, ſtantem in humero medicus ejus Philippus evellit. (Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--200.) Plutarch barely mentions the wound: "Ετρωθη μεν γαρ Αλεξανδῳ εις τον ωμον." Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--679.

p "Arabs quidam Darii miles, majus fortunâ ſuâ facinus auſus, clypeo gladium tegens, quaſi transfuga genibus regis advolvitur. Ille adſurgere ſupplicem recipique inter ſuos juſſit. At gladio barbarus ſtrenue in dextram tranſlato, cervicem adpetit regis: qui exiguâ corporis declinatione evitato ictu, in vanum manum barbari lapſam amputat. (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--200.) Hegeſias ſtates in ſubſtance the ſame anecdote. "Αμα γαρ των πολεμιων εις γονατα συγκαμθεις εδοξε τυτ᾽Αλεξανδρον της ικετειας ενεκα προσαξας· προσεμενῳ δ᾽ εγχυς μικρον εκινευε το ξιφῳ ενεγκαντῳ ὑπο τα στερνια τε θωρακῳ ὡστε γενεσθαι κ᾽ την πληγην ε καριωτατην· αλλα τον μεν αυτον απωλεσε, κατα κεφαλης τυπτων τη μαχαιρα." Dion. Hal. de ſtruct. Orat. 146. 8vo 1728.

believe this writer,[q] Alexander faſtened Betis to his chariot wheels, and with a barbarous indignity, in imitation of Achilles, dragged the dead body of the unfortunate governor round the walls. To magnify the defence of Betis, Q. Curtius falls into a palpable contradiction, and though he aſſures us he ſuſtained the various aſſaults of the enemy with a very moderate[r] garriſon, he makes no ſcruple a few lines afterwards of reckoning the loſs at ten thouſand Perſians or Arabs.[s] Moſt of the inhabitants of Gaza, capable of bearing arms, had gallantly fallen in its defence; the reſt were diſtributed in ſlavery,[t] and Alexander according to Arrian, converted

[q] "Q. Curtius hath heightened this affecting tragedy. "Betim, egregiâ editâ pugnâ, multiſque vulneribus confectum deſeruerant ſui: nec tamen ſegnius prælium capeſſebat, lubricis armis ſuo pariter atque hoſtium ſanguine. Sed quumque undique adducto, inſolenti gaudio juvenis elatus alias virtutes etiam in hoſte miratur, non ut voluiſti, inquit, morieris Betis: ſed quidquid tormentorum in captivum invenire poteſt, paſſurum eſſe te cogita. Ille non interrito modo, ſed contumaci quoque vultu intuens regem, nullam ad minas ejus reddit vocem. Tum Alexander, videtiſne obſtinatum ad tacendum? inquit. Num genu poſuit? num ſupplicem vocem miſit? vincam tamen ſilentium, et ſi nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellato. Ira deinde vertit in rabiem: jam tum peregrinos ritus novâ ſubeunte fortunâ. Per talos enim ſpirantis lora trajecta ſunt; religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi: gloriante rege, Achillem, a quo genus ipſe deduceret, imitatum ſe eſſe pœnâ in hoſtem capiendâ. (Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--202--204.) If the whole is not a fiction, it is to be hoped, there are at leaſt ſome poetical embelliſhments.

[r] "Modicoque præſidio muros ingentis operis tuebatur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1. --197. 198.

[s] "Cecidere Perſarum Arabumque circa decem millia." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1. --205.

[t] "Les habitans de Gaza furent reduits en eſclavage." Arrian hath tranſmitted to us their reſolution and deſpair. "Οι δε Γαζαιοι, ἡ της πολεως σφισιν ηδη εχομενης, ξυνεζηκοτες ὁμως εμαχοντο, ἡ απειθαιον παντες αυτε μαχομενοι, ὡς εκαζοι εταχθησαν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177.) I have receded from the Baron de St. Croix and nearly adopted Arrian.

verted his new conqueſt into a place of arms, which he peopled by a colony drawn from the neighbouring country. [v] Strabo on the contrary pretends that this unfortunate city was deſtroyed, [w] and remained a deſert. Gaza made however, a very conſiderable figure in the different wars of Alexander's ſucceſſors, and the judicious geographer might probably have confounded its ſtate under the two firſt ages of the Seleucides, with its melancholy fate, after its total deſtruction by Alexander Zebina, 96 years before Chriſt. [x] It then became a prey to the flames, as the prophet Amos [y] had denounced, and its inhabitants were carried into captivity from their attachment to the Ptolemies. The ſimilitude of the name of the two princes, to whom it owed its misfortunes, eaſily led Strabo into the miſtake.

Egypt ſubmitted without a ſtruggle, and Alexander determined to

[v] "Την πολιν δε ξυνοικισας εκ των περιοικων, εχρητο ὁσα φρουριω εις τον πολεμον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177.

[w] "Ειθ'ὁ των Γαζαιων λιμην πλησιον· ὑπερκειται δε ἡ ἡ πολις εν ὑψει σταδιοις, ενδοξος ποτε γενομενη, κατεσπασμενη δ'υπο Αλεξανδρου ἡ μενουσα ερημος." Strabo. Lib. 16.--1101, 1102.

[x] Joſephus hath compreſſed into a ſhort compaſs a hiſtory of this ſiege. Ant. Jud. Lib. 13. C. 13. Tom. 1.--670.

[y] "I will ſend a fire on the wall of Gaza, which ſhall devour the palaces thereof." (Amos. Chap. 1. Verſe 7.) A new Gaza appears, however, to have riſen, like a Phœnix, out of its aſhes, which is mentioned on ſeveral of the medals of Hadrian's days. Sozomen ſpeaks of it, (Lib. 5. C. 5.) and a liſt of its Biſhops may be ſtill found in the dormant repoſitory of Eccleſiaſtical Knowledge, the hiſtory of Councils and their Acts. A livelier reader may conſult Reland. Palæſt. Lib. 3.--787.

to ſignalize his new empire by the foundation of a city, which might one day be the ſtaple of the commerce of the two ſeas, and unite by intereſt the inhabitants of the eaſtern and weſtern world. The Conqueror conſulted his true glory in the enterpriſe. Humanity recommended the deſign, and a work of this kind is entitled to a more diſtinguiſhed column in the page of hiſtory, than thoſe monſtrous edifices which are at once the prodigies of human labour, and the laſting monuments of the tyranny of the princes, that erected them amidſt the miſery and unavailing agonies of their ſubjects.——The Macedonian Monarch in his foundation of Alexandria opened a new ſource of riches, and Egypt ſoon enjoyed the happineſs of ſeeing its land cultivated by a multitude of induſtrious inhabitants, and the temples of its Deities filled with crowds of people enriched by its commerce.

Arrian[z] and Plutarch[a] tell us, that the plan of Alexandria was traced out under Alexander's inſpection, and that the workmen were ordered to begin the buildings previous to his departure for

[z] "Και εδοξεν αυτω ὁ χωρος καλλιστος κτισαι εν αυτω πολιν, και γενεσθαι αν ευδαιμονα την πολιν· Ποθος εν λαμβανει αυτον τε εργε, και αυτος τα σημεια τη πολει εθηκεν, ἱνα τε αγοραν εν αυτη δειμασθαι εδει, και ἱερα θεσα, και Θεων ὡν τινων, των μεν Ἑλληνικων, Ισιδης δ' Αιγυπτιας, και το τειχος η περιβεβλησθαι.——
——Επι τουτοις δε ποθος λαμβανει αυτον ελθειν παρ Αμμονα ες Λιβυην· Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 1.--3.--181, 183.

[a] "Εργε κελευσας, εσχεσθαι τες επιμελητας, αυτος ὁρμησεν εις Αμμωνος ὁδον." Plutarch. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--680.

for Ammon;[b] Diodorus Siculus[c] and Juſtin[d] date its foundation after that expedition, but Q. Curtius[e] refers both the idea and the execution to his return. Theſe different hiſtorians, Q. Curtius excepted, may be correct in their information, and it is not improbable that Alexander directing his march along the ſeaſhore, might firſt have traced the outlines of this flouriſhing city,[f] and afterwards on his return augmented the number of the workmen, and puſhed on by his encouragement the numerous and ſtately edifices, that were then riſing up. This is notwithſtanding no excuſe for Diodorus Siculus, who fixes the

R foundation

[b] "L'epoque de la foundation d'Alexandrie eſt rapportée par Plutarque et Arrien avant celle du depart d'Alexandre pour Ammon." I have not ſcrupulouſly adhered to the French text, but by this means the diſcordant hiſtorians are more in uniſon, and to juſtify me I have the evidence of Plutarch and Arrian that I have juſt cited. Q. Curtius, ſtill remains at an irreconcilable diſtance.

[c] "Επανηλθεν εις Αιγυπτον· Κριναs δ'εν ταυτη πολιν μεγαλην κτισαι, προσεταξε τοις επι την επιμελειαν, ταυτην καταλειπομενοις, αναμεσον της τε λιμνης καὶ της θαλεσσης οικισαι την πολιν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.

[d] "Reverſus ab Hammone Alexandriam condidit." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 11.--286.

[e] "Alexander ab Hammone rediens, ut a mari ad Mareotim paludem, haud procul inſulâ Pharo ſitam, venit; contemplatus loci naturam, primum in ipſâ inſulâ ſtatuerat urbem novam condere. Inde, ut adparuit, magnæ ſedis inſulam haud capacem; elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc eſt Alexandria." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 8. Tom. 1.--220, 221.

[f] Plutarch hath preſerved a curious anecdote reſpecting Alexander's tracing out the plan of this city. "Και γη μεν η παρην λευκη· των δε αλφιτων λαμβανοντες εν πεδιω μελαγγειω κυκλοτερη κολπον ηγεν, ἁ την εντος περιφερειαν ευθειαι βασεις, ὡς περ απο κρασπεδων εις σχημα χλαμυδος υπελαμβανων, εξ ισης συναγεσαι το μεγεθος· ηδεως δε τη διαθεσει τε βασιλεως, αιφνιδιον ορνιθες απο τε ποταμε, καὶ της λιμνης, πληθει τε απειροι, καὶ κατα γενος παντοδαποι, καὶ μεγαλοι, επι τον τοπον καταιροντες, νεφεσιν εοικοτες, ουδε μικρον υπελιποντο των αλφιτων· ὡς τε καὶ τον Αλεξανδρον διαταραχθηναι προς τον οιωνον· η μην γαρ των μαντεων θαρρειν παραινουντων πολυαρκεσατην γαρ οικιζεσθαι πολιν υπ'αυτη, καὶ παντοδαπων ανθρωπων εσομενην τροφον." (Plutarch, De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--680.) A leſs accommodating fortune-teller might have put a different conſtruction on the accident.

foundation of Alexandria under the Archon Ariſtophanes, in the ſecond year of the 112th Olympiad,[g] which was in fact the ſixth year of Alexander's reign; though it only became the fifth according to this hiſtorian, Alexander having begun his reign, by his computation under the magiſtracy of Evænetus, as was before obſerved. The miſtake of Diodorus Siculus moſt probably occaſioned thoſe of Euſebius[h] and St. Cyrill,[i] who have pretended to eſtabliſh the foundation of Alexandria in the ſeventh year of Alexander's reign. But the true period of its foundation was the fifth year of the Macedonian Monarch's reign, which was the firſt year of the 112th Olympiad when Nicetas was Archon, as appears by the ſubſequent military operations of this Prince.—The certainty of the date is alſo confirmed by the Canon of Theon, which allows only four years to the reign of Darius Codomanus, and begins to reckon that of his victorious rival in the 417th year of the era of Nabonaſſar, the conqueſt of Egypt and the foundation of Alexandria being included in the four firſt years after Alexander's acceſſion to the throne of Macedon.[k]

The

[g] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200. T. Livy differs very conſiderably, (Lib. 8. C. 24. Tom. 2.--760.) and alſo Julius Solinus (C. 32.--45.) from Diodorus Siculus, but Dodwell (Differt. de Cycl. 10. 73.) hath fully proved the former to have deceived himſelf, and Salmaſius (Plin. Exer. 338.) allows the latter to have been miſtaken.

[h] "Αλεξανδρεια ἡ κατ' Αἰγυπτον ἑβδομῳ ετει Αλεξανδρῳ εκτισθη." Euſebii Chronic. Port. 177.

[i] "Ἑκατοστη δωδεκατη ολυμπιαδι Αλεξανδρειαν την προς Αἰγυπτον κτισθηναι φασιν, ετει ἑβδομῳ της Αλεξανδρου βασιλειας." (St. Cyrill. contra Julian. Lib. 1. Julian. Opera. Tom. 2.--13.) To give the Patriarch fair play, he only ſtates it on tradition.

[k] This ſubject hath been extremely well explained by Monſ. de Freret. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 27.--149, 150.

The new city had at its foundation a form, nearly ſimilar to that of the Macedonian[l] mantle, but as it increaſed, it naturally loſt its ſhape and figure. Mons[r] d'Anville's plan of Alexandria, which he ſketched out with ſuch pains and accuracy, hath little reſemblance with this part of the Macedonian dreſs as engraven by Cuper,[m] and he endeavours in vain to apply it to the ground between the Mareotic lake and the ſhore of the Egyptian ſea. Its circuit, according to Pliny,[n] was about fifteen miles, which may amount to one hundred and twenty ſtadia, inſtead of eighty agreeable to the calculation of Q. Curtius.[o] But the ſentiments of theſe two authors will not materially differ, if we ſuppoſe with Mons[r] d'Anville[p] Pliny's ſtadium to have been a third leſs than that of Q. Curtius. This meaſure will be found likewiſe to be nearly adequate to the thirty ſtadia by ſeven or eight, which Strabo[q]

 hath

l "Τον δε τυπον αποτελων χλαμυδι παραπλησιον." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.) Or as Pliny more diffuſely expreſſes it, "Ad effigiem Macedonicæ Chlamydis orbe gyrato laciniosam, dextrâ lævâque anguloſo procurſu." (Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. 10. Tom. 1.--562.) Strabo hath deſcribed the figure with mathematical preciſion: "Το χλαμυδοειδες σχημα εγγεγραπται ὑτως, ὡς τε το μηκος τω μηκει ὁμολογουν, καὶ ὁσον ειναι το μεγιστον, καὶ το πλατος τω πλατει." Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--179.

m See the Homeri Apotheſis. 158.

n "Metatus eſt eam Dinochares Artichectus, pluribus modis memorabili ingenio. xv. M. paſſuum laxitate inſeſſa." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--561. 562.

o "Complexus quidquid eſt loci inter paludem et mare, octaginta ſtadiorum muris ambitum deſtinat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 8. Tom. 1.--221.

p Memoire ſur l'Egypt Anc. et Mod. 56. 57.

q "Εστι δε χλαμυδοειδες το σχημα του εδαφους της πολεως· ὑ τα μεν επι μηκους πλευρα εστι τα αμφικλυστα, ὁσον τριακοντα σταδιων εχοντα διαμετρον· τα δε επι πλατος ὁι ισθμοι ἑπτα η οκτω σταδιων ἑκατερος." Strabo. Lib. 17. --1143.

hath given to this city. Joſephus[r] reckons its length to have been thirty ſtadia and its breadth ten,[s] but Diodorus Siculus[t] with leſs probability relates that it reached four hundred ſtadia in length, and was a Plethrum broad.

When Diodorus Siculus paſſed through Egypt, the number of Freemen in Alexandria were ſaid by the Police officers to amount to three hundred thouſand,[w] and if we adopt the calculation of Cteſicles,[x] reſpecting the proportion between the Freemen and the ſlaves

[r] "Μηκος μεν γε αυτης τριακοντα ςαδιων, ευρος δε ȣκ ελαττον δεκα." Joſeph. de Bello Judaico. Lib. 2. C. 16. Sect. 4. Tom. 2.--190.

[s] The Baron de St. Croix obſerves "Cette meſure eſt conforme à la longueur de trente ſtades ſur dix de largeur, donneé par Strabon et Joſeph a cette ville." I am not altogether ſatisfied that he perfectly underſtood the Greek geographer, but Father Harduin in his notes on Pliny (Hiſt. Vit. Tom. 1.--562.) appears to have looked through the ſame intellectual teleſcope, and in a generous court of criticiſm "De minimis non curat lex." The "ſur dix" applied to both authors is inexcuſable, and I have made each writer reſponſible for his own calculation.

[t] "Απο γαρ πυλης επι πυλην διηκȣσα, τεσσαρακοντα μεν ςαδιων εχει το μηκος, πλεθρȣ δε το πλατος." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.) The Plethrum was originally reckoned to contain a hundred ſquare feet, but "the practice of ſome Greeks," as the great hiſtorian of the decline of the Roman empire hath judiciouſly remarked, (16th Chap. Vol 1.) and the authority of Monſ. de Valois would lead us to believe the "Πλεθρον," was uſed to expreſs the Roman "jugerum," which conſiſted of twenty-eight thouſand eight hundred ſquare Roman feet.

[w] "Καθ'ὁν γαρ δη καιρον ἡμεις παρεβαλομεν εις Αιγυπτον, εφασαν ὁι τας αναγραφας εχοντες των κατοικȣντων, ειναι τȣς εν αυτη διατριβοντας ελευθερȣς, πλειȣς των τριακοντα μυριαδων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--201.

[x] "Κτησικλης δε εν τριτη χρονικων φησιν ἑπτα καὶ δεκατη Ολυμπιαδι Αθηνησιν εξετασμον γενεσθαι ὑπο Δημητριȣ τȣ Φαληρεως των κατοικȣντων την Αττικην· καὶ ἑυρεθηναι Αθηναιȣς μεν δυσμυριȣς προς τοις χιλιοις, μετοικȣς δε μυριȣς, οικετων δε μυριαδας τεσσαρακοντα." (Athenæus. Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--272.) This immenſe population

ſlaves at Athens, we cannot reckon the whole maſs of inhabitants at leſs than fifteen hundred thouſand, which is an aſtoniſhing degree of population conſidering the obſtacles that checked it. Notwithſtanding the precaution which the Royal Founder had taken in its conſtruction, that the ſtreets might be open to and refreſhed by the Eteſian winds,[y] the new capital of Egypt was very unhealthy, and the inhabitants had only dead and ſtagnant water for their common uſe. Their diet was alſo very ordinary, and conſiſted of bad vegetables of the worſt qualities, paſte, dry cheeſe, inferior kinds of fiſh, ſnails, ſnakes, the fleſh of aſſes and of camels, and in general all ſorts of ſalt proviſions.[z] From ſuch a regimen, as Galen hath obſerved, the leproſy and other inveterate

population did not ſtill equal the Roman Capitation about this period. (See Juſt. Lipſ. Elect. Lib. 1.---De Magnitudine Romæ. Lib. 1. 7.) In the quotation from Athenæus, I have adopted the ingenious emendation of the "Επτα ϗ δεκατη," with which the Baron de St. Croix hath furniſhed me, on the very ſtrong evidence of Demetrius having been the Athenian Archon in the fourth year of the 117th Olympiad, which he produces from Corſini. Faſt. Attic. Tom. 4.--63, 64.

[y] "Ευϛοχια δε της ϱυμοτομιας ϖοιησας διαπνεισθαι την ϖολιν τοις ετησιοις ανεμοις· ϗ τϖτων ϖνεοντων μεν δια τϖ μεγιϛϖ ϖελαγϖς, καταψυχοντων δε τον κατα την ϖολιν αεϱα, ϖολλην τοις κατοικϖσιν ευκϱασιαν ϗ ὑγιειαν κατεσκευασε·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.) "Και ὁι ετησιαι ϖνεϖσιν εκ των βοϱειων, ϗ τϖ τοσϖτϖ ϖελαγϖς· ὡϛε καλλιϛα τϖ θεϱϖς Αλεξανδϱεις διαϛϖσιν." (Strabo. Lib. 17. --1143.) A warm and luxuriant deſcription of Alexandria may be found in Achilles Tatius. (Lib. 5. C. 1. 397——400. 8vo Lipſ. 1776.) Monſ. Savary (Letters on Ægypt, Vol. 1.--21——42.) hath amplified it, and introduced the revolutions that it hath experienced, but with both ingenuity and taſte.

[z] Yet to this wretched bill of Fare, Diodorus Siculus gives a flat contradiction. "Και ϖϱοσοδων πληθει ϗ των ϖϱος τϱοφην ανηκοντων ϖολυ διαφϱει των αλλων. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--201.

inveterate ſcorbutic complaints were very frequent. Cocchi, from whom the remark is borrowed, deſcribes the ſoil of Alexandria as very hot and impregnated with ſalts, and he adds that from the expence of the inceſſant watering which the vegetables wanted, they were not within the reach of general uſe, and the malady from this circumſtance was both very common and very virulent.

The place on which Alexandria ſtood, had been uſed to feed cattle[a] in, and ſerved occaſionally for the retreat of a few miſerable ſhepherds or fiſhermen, who reſided in the little village of Racotis. Alexander looked undoubtedly with a penetrating eye into futurity, and made choice of the ſituation without any attention to the ſalubrity of the air, from the commercial advantages that it offered, and which ſoon rendered it one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the ancient world.[b]

The

[a] "Οι μεν ουν προτεροι των Αιγυπτιων βασιλεις αγαπωντες δις ειχον, ᾗ ου παυ επεισακτων δεομενοι, διαβεβλημενοι προς απαντας τους πλεοντας, ᾗ μαλιστα τους Ἑλληνας (προσηται γαρ ησαν ᾗ επιθυμηται της αλλοτριας κατα σπανιν γης) επεσησαν φυλακην τω τοπω τουτω, κελευσαντες απειργειν τους προσιοντας· κατοικιαν δ'αυτοις εδοσαν την προσαγορευομενην Ρακωτιν, ἡ νυν μεν της Αλεξανδρεων πολεως εστι μερος το υπερκειμενον των νεωριων· τοτε δε κωμη υπηρχη· τα δε κυκλω της κωμης βυκολοις παρεδοσαν, δυναμενοις ᾗ αυτοις κωλυειν τους εξωθεν επιοντας." (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1142.) The "Βυκολοις παρεδοσαν" leads me to believe with Diodorus Siculus that Alexandria was not confined to the fleſh of camels and of aſſes.

[b] A modern traveller who viſited the Turkiſh empire on a profeſſional plan, hath paſſed a high encomium on the Macedonian Monarch's diſcernment in his choice of the ſituation of Alexandria. "L'Egypte ſituée pour aſſocier à ſon commerce, l'Europe, l'Afrique et les Indes, avait beſoin d'un port. Il devait être vaſte, et d'un abord facile : les bouches du Nil n'offraient aucun de ſes avantages : le ſeul port qui fût ſur cette côte, placé à douze lieues du fleuve, dans un déſert'

The difficulties, which the Macedonian ſoldiers had to encounter in their march from the frontiers of Egypt to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, have been greatly exaggerated by all the hiſtorians, and particularly Q. Curtius, whoſe hyperbolical expreſſions are alone ſufficient to create a doubt of their veracity.

Diodorus Siculus refers the origin of the temple of Ammon to the time of Danaus;[c] and we are informed by Apollodorus[d] that Cepheus expoſed his daughter Andromeda by the counſels of this oracle. But even the fables of Herodotus[e] on the foundation of the

déſert, ne pouvait être apperçu que par un génie hardi. Il falloit y bâtir une ville; ce fut lui qui en deſſina le plan. A quel degré de ſplendeur n'a-t-il pas porté Alexandrie dans ſa naiſſance? il la joignit au Nil par un canal navigable, et utile à la culture; elle devint la ville de toutes les nations, la Métropole du commerce; il en honore les cendres que les ſiecles de barbarie ont amoncelés, et qui n'attendent qu'une main bien faiſante qui les délaie, pour cimenter la réconſtruction du plus vaſte edifice que l'eſprit humain ait jamais conçu.

Ses ruines offrent à chaque pas le temoignage de ſon ancienne ſplendeur; et le manteau Macédonien que ſon enceinte repréſente, en repellant le fondateur, ſemble en avoir impoſé aux Barbares dans les différentes ſaccagements de cette ville. Les mêmes murailles qui garantiſſaient ſon induſtrie et ſes richeſſes, défendent encore aujourd'hui ſes ruines, et préſentent un chef-d'œuvre de maconnerie." Mem. du Baron de Tott. Tom. 2.--179. 180. 12mo Paris, 1785.

c "Το μεν ουν τεμενος φασιν ιδρυσασθαι Δαναον του Αιγυπτιου" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--198.

d "Ποσειδων——————πλημμυραν τε επι την χωραν επεμψε κ) κητος· Αμμωνος δε χρησαντος την απαλλαγην της συμφορας, εαν ἡ Κασσιεπειας θυγατηρ Ανδρομεδα προτεθη τω κητει βορα· τουτο αναγκασθεις ὁ Κηφευς ὑπο των Αιθιοπων επραξε, κ) προσεδησε την θυγατερα πετρα" Apollod. Lib. 2. C. 4.--98. Ed. Heyne. 12mo Gott. 1782.

e "Ταδε δε Δωδωναιων φασι αἱ προμαντιες, δυο πελειαδας μελαινας εκ Θηβεων των Αιγυπτειων αναπταμενας, την μεν αυτεων εs Λιβυην, την δε παρα σφεας απικεσθαι, ἱζομενην δε μιν επι φηγον, αυδαξασθαι φωνη ανθρωπηιη, ὡs χρεων ειη μαντηιον αυτοθε Διος γενεσθαι· κ) αυτους ὑπολαβειν θειον ειναι το επαγγελλο-

μενον

the edifice, are favourable to its antiquity and carry back its exiſtence to a very remote period. The Oracle of Jupiter Ammon was highly celebrated in the firſt ages of Greece. Crœſus [f] conſulted it on the probable ſucceſſes of the war, which he intended to undertake againſt the Perſians, and the Lacedæmonians [g] and Eleans afterwards frequently reſorted to it. Temples roſe in gratitude for the ſuppoſed munificence of the local Deity, and Pindar compoſed hymns in honour of the ſhrine, which were tranſmitted to the Ammonites in Lybia. One of theſe ſacred odes, which had been engraven on a triangular column near an altar erected to this Divinity by Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, was legible in the days of Pauſanias, and is mentioned by him. [h]

The Oracles of Ammon, of Dodona and of Delphos, acquired a great influence in Greece, and poſſeſſed an unlimited confidence on the moſt important occaſions. Whenever there were any apprehenſions

μενον αυτοισι, ϗ σφεας εκ τουτου ποιησαι· την δε ες τους Λιβυας οιχομενην πελειαδα, λεγουσι Αμμωνος χρηστηριον κελευσαι τους Λιβυας ποιεειν· εστι δε ϗ τουτο Διος.'' Herodotus. Lib. 2.--130.

f '' Λιβυης δε παρα Αμμωνα απεστειλε αλλους χρησομενους——————ει επιχειρεοι επι Περσας στρατευεσθαι·'' Herod. Lib. 1.--21.

g '' Εντευθεν, ἱερον εστιν Αμμωνος· φαινονται δε απαρχης Λακεδαιμονιοι μαλιστα Ἑλληνων χρωμενοι τω εν Λιβυη μαντειω·'' (Pauſanias. Lib. 3. C. 18.--253.) The courteous Deity ſeems to have felt the obligation, and to have patroniſed the Lacedæmonians in return. '' Φησιν αν βελεσθαι αυτω την Λακεδαιμονιων ευφημιαν ειναι μαλλον, η τα συμπαντα των Ελληνων ἱερα·'' Plato Alcibiad. 2.--135.

h '' Ου πορρω δε εστι ναος Αμμωνος· ϗ το αγαλμα ανεθηκε μεν Πινδαρος, Καλαμιδος δε εστι εργον· απεπεμψε δε ὁ Πινδαρος ϗ Λιβυης επ' Αμμωνιους τω Αμμωνι ὑμνους· ουτος ϗ ες εμε ην ὁ ὑμνος εν τριγωνω στηλη παρα τον βωμον, ον Πτολεμαιος ὁ λαγου τω Αμμωνι ανεθηκε.'' Pauſanias. Lib. 9. C. 16.--741.

prehenſions of a war, or a new colony was to be eſtabliſhed, one of the three ſhrines was conſulted, and its anſwer governed their future reſolutions.[i] The credit of Jupiter Ammon, who delivered his reſponſes under the figure of a ram,[k] continued to hold its empire over the mind, and declined only on the introduction of the Roman government, under which more religious veneration was beſtowed on the Sibylline verſes and Etruſcan divinations.[l] Yet the temple of this Deity ſubſiſted with ſome reputation, as low as the fifth age, as may be gathered from Syneſius[m] the biſhop of Ptolemais a writer of that time.

From the credit of the Oracle and its antiquity, there can be little doubt that the country, where its reſponſes were delivered, was frequented by crowds of viſitants. Strabo,[n] to avoid a contradiction,

S

[i] "Quam vero Græcia coloniam miſit in Æoliam, Ioniam, Aſiam, Siciliam, Italiam, ſine Pythio aut Dodonæo, aut Hammonis Oraculo? aut quod bellum ſuſceptum ab eâ ſine conſilio Deorum eſt." M. T. Cicero de Divinatione. Lib. 1. Tom. 3, 4. 4to 1740.

[k] "Λιβυες προβατον, ὁ καλουσιν Αμμωνα, Θεον ἐχουσι·" (Athanaſius adverſ. Gentes. 20. Ed. Comelin.) and the Scholiaſt on Pindar hath preſerved a verſe of Phæſtus.

"Ζευ Λιβυης Αμμων κερατεφορε κεκλυθι μαντι·"

Pyth. 4.

[l] "Πολλα δε ειρηκοτες περι του Αμμωνος, τοσουτον ειπειν βουλομεθα· Ὁτι τοις αρχαιοις μαλλον ην εν τιμη, καὶ ἡ μαντικη καθολου, καὶ τα χρηστηρια· νυνι δε ολιγωρια κατεχει πολλη, των Ρωμαιων αρκουμενων τοις Σιβυλλης χρησμοις, καὶ τοις Τυρρηνικοις θεωροπιοις, δια τε στωλαγχνων, καὶ ορνιθειας, καὶ διοσημειων· Διοπερ καὶ το εν Αμμωνι σχεδον τι εκλελειπται χρηστηριον, προτερον δε ἐλιμητο." Strabo. Lib. 17.--1168.

[m] De Inſomniis. 116.

[n] "Ταχα δη καὶ το του Αμμωνος ἱερον προτερον επι της θαλαττης ον· εκρυσεως γενομενης νυν εν τη μεσογαια κεισθαι· εικαζειν τε, καὶ το μαντειον ευλογως επι τοσουτον γενεσθαι επιφανες τε, καὶ γνωριμον επι θαλαττη ον· τον τε επιπο-

λυ

tradiction, and get rid of the inconsistency which appeared between its ancient celebrity and its difficult access, adopts the opinion of Eratosthenes, who assures us, on some feeble conjectures, that the temple once stood on the shore, from which the sea had gradually retired. But this able geographer would not have considered the approach to the temple as impracticable, if he had attended to Herodotus,[o] and the route that he hath traced across Africa, which was in all probability travelled by the Greeks during the reign of Psammaticus, when they had the liberty of carrying on their commerce and settling in Ægypt.

There was a tradition, that one part of the army of Cambyses had perished[p] in this country, but from this route it may be concluded

λυ ὑτως εκτοπισμον απο της θαλατης, ȣκ ευλογον ποιειν την νυν ȣσαν επιφανειαν ϗ δοξαν." Strabo. Lib. 1.--86, 87.

[o] Herodotus. Lib. 4.--361, 362. Monsr Bougainville hath illustrated with much ingenuity this route, and hath left nothing to be added on the subject. Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Tom. 28.--302.

[p] Herodotus gives the melancholy history of the loss of this detachment between Oases and Ammon. "Λεγεται δε ταδε ὑπ' Αμμωνιων· επειδη εκ της Οασιος ταυτης ιεναι δια της ψαμμον επι σφεας, γενεσθαι τε αυτους μεταξυ κȣ μαλιςα αυτεων τε και της Οασιως αριςαν αιρεομενοισι αυτεοισι επιπνευσαι νοτον μεγαν τε και εξαισιον, φορεοντα δε θινας της ψαμμȣ, καταχωσαι σφεας ϗ τροπω τοιȣτω αφανεσθαι·" (Herodotus. Lib. 3.--208.) and I cannot allow the Baron de St. Croix's evidence to be decisive, though he peremptorily styles the account a falsity. Seneca appears to have believed the accident, "Aliquando Cambyses ad Ammoniam misit exercitum: quem arena Austro mota, et more nivis incidens, texit, deinde obruit," (Quest. Nat. 2. 30. Seneca. Opera. Tom. 2. 8vo 1672.) and the sublime and terrible description that a modern traveller hath given of these moving mountains, which he witnessed on his return from Abyssinia, leaves little doubt of the frequency of similar disasters. Monsr Savary is of opinion that the Persians were purposely led astray and left by their Ægyptian guides to perish in the deserts,

cluded to be a falfity. Alexander took the road to Parætonium, which though leſs frequented, was not leſs paſſable, and the ambaſſadors from Cyrene met him there.[q] The Prince according to Ariſtobulus returned with his army by the ſame route, but if the troops had been in ſuch danger of periſhing in their march to

 Ammon,

deſerts, and he ſupports Herodotus with ſome ſtrong probabilities.——Thompſon hath beautifully deſcribed the accumulated horrors of theſe horrid regions.

"Commiſſion'd Demons oft', Angels of wrath,
Let looſe the raging elements. Breath'd hot
From all the boundleſs furnace of the ſky,
And the wide-glittering waſte of burning ſand,
A ſuffocating wind the pilgrim ſmites
With inſtant death. Patient of thirſt and toil,
Son of the deſert! ev'n the camel feels
Shot thro' his wither'd heart, the fiery blaſt.
Or from the black-red ether, burſting broad,
Sallies the ſudden whirlwind. Straight the ſands,
Commov'd around, in gath'ring eddies play;
Nearer and nearer ſtill they dark'ning come;
Till, with the gen'ral all-involving ſtorm
Swept up, the whole continuous wilds ariſe;
And by their noon-day fount dejected thrown,
Or ſunk at night in ſad diſaſtrous ſleep,
Beneath deſcending hills, the caravan
Is buried deep. In Cairo's crowded ſtreets
Th' impatient merchant, wondering, waits in vain,
And Mecca ſaddens at the long delay."

Thompſon's Seaſons. Summer. 960---979.

[q] "Κατα μεσην δε την ὁδον απηντησαν αυτω πρεσβεις παρα Κυρηναιων, στεφανον κομιζοντες, ᾗ μεγαλοπρεπη δωρα" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17.--197.) Q. Curtius briefly tells us, "Deſcendit ad Mareotim paludem. Eo legati Cyrenenſium dona adtulere; pacem et ut adiret urbes ſuas petentes." Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209.

Ammon, it is not to be imagined, that a general of Alexander's abilities would have expoſed them a ſecond time, without any neceſſity, to the ſame perils of being buried in the ſands, or expiring by a more lingering death, from hunger[r] and thirſt.

Ammon, in the boſom of Lybia, notwithſtanding its diſtance from the borders of the ſea, was reſorted to by moſt of the European nations, and ſupplied them with ſeveral objects for exportation.[s] It had been peopled by a colony of Æthiopians and Ægyptians, as the language ſpoken by the Ammonites in the time of Herodotus, which was a mixture of the language of both theſe people, ſufficiently demonſtrates.[t] Is it likely, that men whoſe intention in their migrations was as much to procure the conveniences of life, as to enjoy its neceſſaries, ſhould have voluntarily eſtabliſhed

[r] "Ενταυθα Αλεξανδρος———ανεζευξεν επ' Αιγυπτου· ὡς μεν Αριςοβουλος λεγει, την αυτη οπισω ὁδον·" but Arrian adds, "Ως δε Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου, αλλην ευθειαν, ὡς επι Μεμφιν," (De Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.--187.) which appears moſt likely, from the difficulties and dangers experienced in their route to Ammon.

[s] This commerce is ſuppoſed to have conſiſted of ſalt, gum and dates. Arrian mentions the firſt, and from this account, there muſt have been a conſiderable demand for it. "Γιγνονται δε ϗ ἁλες αυτοματοι εν τω χωριω τουτω ορυκτοι· ϗ τουτων εςιν ὑς ες Αιγυπτον φερουσι των ἱερων τινες του Αμμωνος. επειδη γαρ επ' Αιγυπτου ςελλονται, ες κοιτιδας πλεκτας εκ φοινικος εσβαλοντες, δωρον τω βασιλει αποφερουσιν, η ει τω αλλω·——ϗ τουτο επι ταις θυσιαις χρωνται, ὡς καθαρωτερω των απο θαλασσης ἁλων Αιγυπτιοι τε ϗ ὁσοι αλλοι του Θειου εκ αμελως εχουσιν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.--187.) The Baron de St. Croix remarks likewiſe from Jablonſki, (Panth. Ægypt. Tom. 3.--82.) that the Ægyptians owing to ſome religious ſcruples had a horror of ſea-ſalt, which muſt have increaſed the conſumption of the rock-ſalt of Ammon.

[t] "Απο δε Αιγυπτιων Αμμωνιοι, εοντες Αιγυπτιων τε ϗ Αιθιοπων αποικοι, ϗ φονην μεταξο αμφοτερων νομιζοντες." Herodotus. Lib. 1.--123, 124.

eſtabliſhed themſelves in a ſituation, which could only have been fit for the lion and the tiger, if the difficulties of getting to it had been as inſurmountable as they have been repreſented? Is it alſo probable that a colony ſhould have planted itſelf by choice in a country ſo totally deprived of water, as the hiſtorians of Alexander have deſcribed it.[w]

We are told, as a fact univerſally acknowledged, by Syneſius,[x] a native of Cyrene, whoſe authority hath naturally a claim to ſome influence, that the country of Ammon was remarkable for its fertility, and the abundance of proviſions, that it afforded to the inhabitants and their cattle, which cannot poſſibly agree with the pretended barrenneſs of the ſoil. Diodorus Siculus admits it likewiſe to have been fruitful,[y] and Strabo compares a tract of country well watered

[w] The Baron de St. Croix adds "Arrien refute cette opinion abſurd." I have omitted this ſentence, and varied the preceding one, becauſe I draw a very different concluſion from Arrian's expreſſions. "Εστι δε ερημη τε ἡ οδος, καὶ ψαμμῳ· ἡ πολλη αυτης, καὶ ανυδρῳ·——ὁ δε χωρος ἐναπερ τὸ Αμμωνος το ἱερον εστι, τα μεν κυκλω παντα ερημα, καὶ ψαμμῳ το παν ἐχει, καὶ ανυδρῳ." Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 3, 4.--185, 186.

[x] "Τον Αμμωνα καὶ Αμμωνος γην ὁ μαλλον ειναι μηλοτροφορον, ἡ κηροτροφον αγαθην·" Syneſii Epiſt. 4.--43.

[y] I am apprehenſive a more extenſive ſignification hath been forced on Diodorus Siculus, than the paſſage of this author warrants, who ſpeaks only of the fertility in the immediate vicinage of the temple, and confines it within the narrow bounds of fifty ſtadia. "Ἡ δε περι το ἱερον τουτο χωρα περιεχεται ὑπο ερημου καὶ ανυδρου της αμμου, πασης φιλανθρωπιας εσερημενη· αὐτη δ'επι μηκος καὶ πλατος επι σταδιους πεντηκοντα παρηκουσα, πολλοις μεν καὶ καλοις ὑδασι ναματιαιοις διαρρειται, δενδρων δε παντοδαπων καὶ μαλιστα καρπιμων πληθυει· καὶ τον μεν αερα τη κρασει παραπλησιον ἐχει ταις εαριναις ὡραις, τοποις δε καυματωδεσι περιεχομενη, μονη παρηλλαγμενην παρεχεται τοις ενδιατριβουσι την ευκρασιαν"

tered and beautified with palms, at the diſtance of four days' journey from the Syrtes, to the country of Ammon.[z]

The ſands which the Macedonian army traverſed, according to Q. Curtius, were heated in ſuch a manner as to ſcorch[a] the feet, and

ευκρασιαν·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--198.) Arrian confirms the reality of this local fertility, but he allows it to extend only to forty ſtadia. "Αυτος δε εν μεσω ολιγος ων (ὁσον γαρ πλειστον αυτȣ ες πλατος διεχει, ες τεσσαρακοντα μαλιστα σταδιȣς ερχεται) καταπλεως εστιν ἡμερων δενδρων, ελαιων, και φοινικων, ϗ ενδρωσος μονος των πηριξ· Και πηγη εξ αυτȣ ανισχει·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.-186.) Q. Curtius is a little more luxuriant. "Tandem ad ſedem conſecratam Deo ventum eſt. Incredibile dictu, inter vaſtas ſolitudines ſita, undique ambientibus ramis, vix in denſam umbram cadente ſole contecta eſt: multique fontes dulcibus aquis paſſim manantibus alunt ſilvas. Cæli quoque mira temperies, verno tempori maxime ſimilis, omnes anni partes pari ſalubritate percurrit." (Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--210. 211.) Le Clerc hath diſſected with critical acrimony this deſcription of a temperate climate under a blazing ſun, but Perizonius (Curt. Vind. 144.) defends both Diodorus Siculus and Q. Curtius, with great judgment and ability. Lucan infers the divinity of the place from its ſurrounding ſcenery.

"Eſſe locis ſuperos, teſtatur ſilva per omnem
Sola virens Libyen. Nam quidquid pulvere ſicco
Separat ardentem tepida Berenicide Lepti,
Ignorat fondes; ſolus nemus abſtulit Hammon
Silvarum fons cauſa loco."

Lib. 9.--522.

By a ſtrange revolution of events the neighbourhood of the temple of Jupiter Ammon became the reſidence of ſeveral Chriſtian prelates, during the Arian perſecution. Athanaſius mentions it. Apol. ad Conſt. 317. Hiſt. Arrian. 387.

[z] "Τεταρταιȣς μεν ουν φασιν απο τȣ μυχȣ της μεγαλης Συρτεως τȣς κατ' αυτο μαλακως βαδιζοντας, ὡς επι χειμερινας ανατολας αφικνεισθαι· Εστι δε ὁ τοπος ὁυτος εμφερης τω Αμμωνι, φοινικοτροφος, τε ϗ ευυδρος·" Strabo. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--1196.

[a] "Terra cæloque aquarum penuria eſt: ſteriles arenæ jacent; quas ubi vapor ſolis accendit, fervido ſolo exurente veſtigia, intolerabilis æſtus exſiſtit. Luctandumque eſt, non tantum cum ardore et ſiccitate regionis, ſed etiam cum tenaciſſimo ſabulo, quod præaltum, et veſtigio cedens, ægre

and as they gave way as the troops paſſed over them, the march became uncommonly painful and fatiguing. To augment their ſufferings, neither the Heavens nor the Earth ſupplied them with any [b] water. In a few lines afterwards we are told of a tremendous ſtorm, [c] attended with very heavy rain, by which the army was greatly refreſhed; but the ſtory that had juſt been related to us, does not ſeem to be authenticated by ſuch an anecdote. It may be aſked how Alexander could penetrate into this vaſt ſolitude, and direct his march through ſuch a pathleſs deſert. Q. Curtius hath given him a flight of crows [d] for guides, and Calliſthenes, [e] to make the circumſtance more extraordinary, informs us the

ægre moliuntur pedes. (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--208.) I find no authority for the "ils ebouloient ſous les pas des voyageurs et menacoient à chaque inſtant de les engloutir," and I omit it.

[b] "Repente, ſive illud Deorum munus, ſive caſus fuit; obductæ cœlo nubes condidere ſolem: ingens æſtu fatigatis, etiamſi aqua deficeret, auxilium. Enimvero, ut largum quoque imbrem excuſſerunt procellæ; pro ſe quiſque excipere eum, quidam ob ſitim impotentes ſui, ore quoque hianti captare cæperunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209, 210.

[c] "Quatriduum per vaſtas ſolitudines abſumptum eſt. Jamque haud procul oraculi ſede aberant; quum complures corvi agmini occurrunt, modico volatu prima ſigna antecedentes: et modo humi reſidebant, quum lentius agmen incederet; modo ſe pennis levabant, antecedentium iterque monſtrantium ritu." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--210.

[d] "Aperuere ſe campi alto obruti fabulo; haud ſecus quam profundum æquor ingreſſi, terram oculis requirebant. Nulla arbor, nullum culti ſoli occurrebat veſtigium." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209.

[e] "Ὁ δε ην θαυμασιωτατον (ὡς Καλλισθενης φησιν) ταις φωναις ανακαλεμενοι τους πλανομενους νυκτωρ και κλαζοντες, εις ἰχνος καθισασαν της παρειας" (Plutarch de Vit. Alex. Plut. Oper. Tom. 1. 680.) The flight of crows is reduced by many of the hiſtorians to a pair, and by Ptolemy theſe two black

the ſtragglers from the main body of the army were recalled into the road by their croaking.

Darius in the mean time was not inactive, but again collected an immenſe number of men, from every corner of his extenſive empire, to oppoſe the farther progreſs of his formidable enemy, who advanced rapidly, on quitting Ægypt, towards the Euphrates, which he croſſed at Tapſacus. Pliny[f] and Dion Caſſius have entertained a different opinion, and imagine Alexander to have croſſed the river near Zeugma on a bridge, ſuſpended by chains of iron.[g] Theſe writers were however undoubtedly led into an error by the etymology

black Guides metamorphoſed into Dragons. Arrian naturally appears to have his doubts, but his underſtanding and his inclinations are at variance. "Πτολεμαιος μεν δη ὁ Λαγου λεγει δρακοντας δυο ιεναι προ του στρατευματος, φωνη ἱεντας, ᾗ τυτοις Αλεξανδρον κελευσαι ἑπεσθαι τυς ηγομονας, πιστευσαντας τω Θειω· τυς δε ἡγησασθαι την ὁδον την τε ες το μαντειον, ᾗ ὁπισω αυθις· Αριστοβυλῳ δε (ᾗ ὁ πλειων λογῳ· ταυτη κατεχει) κορακας δυο προπετομενες της στρατιας, τυτυς γενεσθαι Αλεξανδρω τυς ἡγημονας· Και ὁτι μεν θειον τι ξυνεπελαβεν αυτω, εχω ισχυρισασθαι, ὁτι ᾗ το εικῳ· ταυτη εχει· τοδε ατρεκες τυ λογυ αφειλοντο ὁι αλλη ᾗ αλλη αυτο εξηγησαμενοι·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 3.--185, 186.

[f] "Et exſtare ferream catenam apud Euphratem amnem in urbe quæ Zeugma appellatur, qua Alexander magnus ibi junxerat pontem. (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 34. C. 43. Tom. 5.--150, 151.) "Κατα το Ζευγμα ὁυτω γαρ απο της του Αλεξανδρυ στρατειας το χωριον εκεινο, ὁτι ταυτη επεραιωθη, κεκληται·" (Dion. Caſſius. Lib. 40. Tom. 1.--235.) Lucan hath a ſimilar idea,

——————"Nunc Parthia ruptis
Excedat clauſtris vetitam per ſecula ripam
Zeugmaque Pellæum."

Lib. 8.--235.

[g] And of this opinion is Strabo. "Θαψακυ, καθ' ὁ ην το Ζευγμα τυ Ευφρατυ το παλαιον επι την τυ Τιγριδῳ· διαβασιν, καθ' ην διεβη Αλεξανδρῳ· αυτον." (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1082.) It is probable that the younger Cyrus croſſed the Euphrates in nearly the ſame place. Xenoph. Expeditio Cyri. Lib. 1.--72.

etymology of the word, but the itinerary of the Macedonian army, from Tyre to Arbela, proves decidedly the impoſition.

Mazæus had been ordered by Darius to defend the paſſage of the Euphrates, but he abandoned the poſt and retreated, having firſt laid waſte the country to deprive the Macedonian army of forage and ſubſiſtence. Four days after Alexander had paſſed the Euphrates and the Tigris without any oppoſition, he diſcovered a body of cavalry, which was immediately purſued. Many priſoners were taken, and they gave him the intelligence, that Darius was encamped on a wide plain upon the banks of the Bumado, not far from Gaugamele. The troops had a few days allowed them to recover their fatigues, and the Macedonian Monarch then moved forward again, and took poſt at the diſtance only of ſixty ſtadia from the Perſian camp. Arrian furniſhes us with theſe particulars,[h] which are very neceſſary to correct the inaccuracy of Diodorus Siculus.

This latter hiſtorian relates that Mazæus was detached to defend the river,[i] without ſpecifying what river it was, that he was ordered to ſecure. It muſt, however, have been the Euphrates, though it is not named. The Macedonian army paſſed the anonymous river, and Alexander ſtretched on the following day

T directly

[h] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7, 8, 9.--193——199.

[i] "Την διαβασιν τε ποταμε" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--203.

directly towards the enemy, and encamped in their preſence. The remainder of the narrative ſeems to intimate, that the two armies came to blows two days after the paſſage of the Euphrates.[k]—— Diodorus Siculus may have miſtaken the Euphrates for the Tigris, and his errors in conſequence of this conjecture will become leſs palpable and of leſs importance, but their number will not be diminiſhed.

The imagination is ever on the watch to eſcape from the fetters of hiſtorical reſtriction, and, regardleſs of contradictions and their conſequences, is apt to wander through the flowery fields of fancy, as the inclination leads it. Q. Curtius proves the propriety of the obſervation in his account of the battle of Gaugamele. On the plain, as he tells us, where the two armies encountered, neither buſh nor tree was to be ſeen, and the view was as boundleſs as the horizon.[l] Such a deſcription does not correſpond with Alexander's orders to level every obſtacle, that interrupted the motions of his troops,[m] and the poſition which a detachment occupied a little

[k] "Τη δ'υστεραία συντεταγμενην εχων την στρατιαν, προηγεν επι τους πολεμιους, και συνεγγυς γενομενος των Περσων, κατεστρατοπεδευσεν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--203.

[l] "Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vaſta planities. Ne ſtirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiant ſolum: liberque proſpectus oculorum etiam quæ procul receſſere, permittitur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--233.

[m] "Itaque ſi qua campi eminebant, juſſit æquari, totumque faſtigium extendi." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--233, 234.

little before the action upon a height, that the Perſians had abandoned.[n]

Moſt of the hiſtorians reckon the Perſian army to have amounted to a million of men, and though the calculation may appear extravagant, it certainly does not exceed the bounds of probability. All the nations in fact from the Euxine ſea to the extremities of the Eaſt had made a common cauſe, and ſent Darius very numerous and powerful reinforcements. It was the cuſtom of the Aſiatics to carry their wives and children along with them in their military expeditions, and Perſian luxury could not diſpenſe with the want of a crowd of the uſeleſs followers of a camp; two circumſtances which will conſiderably diminiſh the number of the real and effective troops. If we conſider likewiſe the living clouds of Barbarians, that have ſpread themſelves in different ages over the Weſtern world, and thoſe immenſe bodies of more regular troops, that under the conduct of many Tartarian princes, poſſeſſed themſelves of almoſt all the realms of Aſia, we may eaſily conceive that ſuch a multitude might have been collected to combat on the plains of Aſſyria for the ſafety of the Perſian empire.

[n] "Mazæus——cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum proſpiciebantur caſtra, conſederat. Macedones eam ipſum collem, quem deſeruerat, occupaverunt: nam et tutior planitie erat." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 12. Tom. 1.--263.) But the woods and valleys which echoed with the ſhouts of the armies are ſtill more inconſiſtent and abſurd.——"Macedones, ingentem, pugnantium more, edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Perſis, nemora valleſque circumjectas terribili ſono implevere." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 12. Tom. 1.--264.

The Scythians and Bactrians diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour on this memorable day, and ruſhed with impetuoſity on the left wing of the Macedonian army, on which they made ſome impreſſion. A detachment alſo of the Perſians made its way to the baggage of their enemy, who loſt, notwithſtanding theſe vigorous attacks leſs than three hundred men according to Q. Curtius,[o] and five hundred agreeable to Diodorus Siculus,[p] excluſive of the wounded. One hundred men and a thouſand horſe are ſuppoſed by Arrian[q] to have been left on the field of battle, or to have fallen in the purſuit. The loſs of the Perſian army amounted by his account to three hundred thouſand men,[r] but it ſeems exaggerated. Dexippus[s] lowers it to one hundred and thirty thouſand, and Diodorus Siculus[t] to nearly ninety thouſand. Zozimus[w] hath boldly aſſerted that almoſt the whole of the Perſian

o "Macedonum minus quam trecenti deſiderati ſunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--297.

p "Των δε Μακεδονων ανηρεθησαν μεν εις τριακοσιους, τραυματιαι δ'εγενοντο παμπληθεις." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--207.

q "Απεθανον δε των αμφ' Αλεξανδρον, ανδρες μεν εις εκατον μαλιστα· ἱπποι δε εκ των τραυματων και της κακοπαθειας της εν τη διωξει, ὑπερ τους χιλιους." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--214.

r "Των βαρβαρων δε, νεκρων μεν ελεγοντο εις τριακοντα μυριαδας." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 16.--215.) Arrian however qualifies it with the "Ελεγοντο."

s Apud. Cedrenum. 125.

t "Των βαρβαρων εν ταυτη τη μαχη κατεκοπησαν οἱ παντες ἱππεις τε και πεζοι πλειους των εννεα μυριαδων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--207.

w "Και την μαχην εις Αρβηλαν προς αυτον (Δαρειον) ποιησαμενος, τοσουτον εκρατησεν, ὡστε παντας μεν σχεδον ανελειν, Δαρειος δε συν ολιγοις φυγοντος." Zozimus. Lib. 1. C. 4.--9. 8vo Lipſ. 1784.

ſian troops was deſtroyed, but Q. Curtius appears to have adopted the moſt probable calculation, and ſtates their loſs at forty thouſand.[x] It is indeed the only circumſtance in his relation of this action, that we can literally ſubſcribe to; in every other, the qualifications of the hiſtorian are totally wanting, and we have the deſcriptions of a poet, or the declamations of an orator.

The following ſentences convey to us ſome parts of the ſpeech of Darius to his troops immediately before the engagement. "Dare[y] to conquer and the work is done. Renown and fame are but weak arms againſt brave men, therefore do not regard them in the enemy. For it is raſhneſs you have hitherto feared, and miſtaken for courage; which when its firſt fury is ſpent, becomes languid and dull, like thoſe animals that have loſt their ſtings.—As for Alexander, how great ſoever he may appear to the cowardly and fearful, he is ſtill but one individual creature; and, in my

[x] "Cecidere Perſarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, millia quadringenta." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--297.

[y] "Audete modo vincere; famamque, infirmiſſimum adverſus fortes viros telum, contemnite? Temeritas eſt, quam adhuc pro virtute timuiſtis: quæ ubi primum impetum effudet, velut quædam animalia amiſſo aculeo, torpet.———Alexander, quantuſcunque ignavis et timidis videri poteſt; unum eſt animal: et, ſi quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vecors; adhuc noſtro pavore, quam ſua virtute felicius! nihil autem poteſt eſſe diuturnum, cui non ſubeſt ratio, licet felicitas adſpirare videatur; tamen ad ultimum temeritati non ſufficit. Præterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum, et fortuna nunquam ſimpliciter indulget———niſi quod in vobis eſt, ipſe ego majore parte captivus ſum. Eripite viſcera mea ex vinculis: reſtituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipſe mori non recuſo; parentem, liberos, nam conjugem in illo carcere amiſi." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 14.--280, 282, 284.

my opinion, both raſh and fooliſh. Now nothing can be laſting that is not ſupported by reaſon, and though he ſeems to be ſucceſsful, yet at long run he'll pay for his temerity. Beſides, the turns and revolutions of things are of ſhort duration, there is no ſuch thing as an unmixed felicity.——I myſelf am more than half a captive, unleſs you exert yourſelves: free my bowels from their bondage, reſtore to me thoſe dear pledges, (for which I am willing myſelf to die) my mother and children, for I have loſt my wife in that priſon."[z]

It is impoſſible perhaps to tranſfuſe into any language the warm pictureſque expreſſions of Q. Curtius, but whilſt they diſplay the brilliancy of his imagination, they condemn effectually his judgment. This harangue of the Perſian Monarch is utterly inconſiſtent with the character of Darius, and he ſeems rather to be declaiming in a ſchool of rhetoric, than to addreſs his troops with the dignity of a Monarch and in a manner that his peculiar ſituation ought to have preſcribed to him. The narrative of Q. Curtius is alſo full of ill-timed reflections, and his ignorance of military affairs is attempted to be concealed in impenetrable obſcurity, and a labyrinth of words, that are accumulated *without* reaſon or neceſſity. Theſe faſtidious amplifications have ſometimes rendered his deſcriptions almoſt incomprehenſible, and the manner in which he ſpeaks of the chariots armed with ſcythes is particularly confuſed.

[z] Digby's Q. Curtius, Vol. 1.--255, 256, 257.

fuſed.[a] Arrian[b] in every reſpect is entitled to a preference, and his account of the battle of Gaugamele, is the only ſource, from which we can derive any certain information of the manœuvres of either the Perſian or Macedonian army.

The eclipſe of the moon at the commencement of the Myſteries, on the fifteenth day of the month Boedromion, happened according to Plutarch,[c] twelve days before this celebrated battle, which is therefore irrevocably ſettled to have been fought on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month Boedromion, in the ſecond year of the 112th Olympiad, and 331 years before Chriſt. Arrian's computation then, who fixes this action in the month Puanepſion,

[a] "Ex ſummo temone haſtæ præfixæ ferro eminebant: utrimque a jugo ternos direxerant gladios: et inter radios rotarum plura ſpicula eminebant in adverſum: aliæ deinde falces ſummis rotarum orbibus hærebant; et aliæ in terram dimiſſæ quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuiſſet amputaturæ." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--228, 229.) After all the labours of the commentators this paſſage ſtill retains its original perplexity. Drakenborch in his edition of Q. Curtius hath abridged moſt of their obſervations, and Scheffer (De Re Vehiculari. Lib. 2. C. 15.) hath launched into the ſubject at length.

[b] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 12, 13, 14, 15.--205——215.

[c] "Την δε μεγαλην μαχην περος Δαρειον ουκ εν Αρβηλοις (ὡς περ οἱ αλλοι γραφουσιν) αλλα εν Παυσαμεροις γενεσθαι συνεπεσεν·——ἡ μεν ουν σεληνη τε Βοηδρομιωνος εξελιπεν, περι την των μυστηριων των Αθηνησιν αρχην ενδεκατη δε απο της εκλειψεως νυκτι τον στρατοπεδων εν οψει γεγοναται·" &c. &c. &c. (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Oper. Tom. 1.--683.) "Preceda de onze jours——la bataille de Gaugamele," is the Baron de St. Croix's expreſſion, but he did not ſufficiently attend to that of Plutarch, and Langhorn appears to have fallen into the ſame error. If Darius only ranged his troops in order of battle, and took a review of them by torch-light on the eleventh night, "Ενδεκατη νυκτι" after this lunar eclipſe, the action muſt have been fought on the ſucceeding day. By the Julian calendar this eclipſe was ſuppoſed to have happened on the twentieth of September, and the calculation therefore of Sir Iſaac Newton, who fixes the action on the ſecond of October following is very accurate. See the Chronology of ancient Kingdoms. 355.

on,

on,[d] is erroneous. Ariſtophanes was the Athenian Archon at that time, and both Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus[e] and Theophraſtus[f] relate this event under the magiſtracy of Ariſtophon, his ſucceſſor. But theſe two writers deceived themſelves, and concluded from the news of this deciſive action having reached Athens after the expiration of the Archonſhip of Ariſtophanes, that it was alſo fought under that of Ariſtophon. Juſtin hath mentioned the defeat of the united forces of the Perſian empire in the fifth year of the reign of Alexander, but the ſixth was the true period of this engagement, which was attended with the total ruin of the Perſian monarchy.

The Conqueror of the Eaſt, after he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Babylon[g] and Suza, then marched for Perſepolis. Q. Curtius

[d] "Τουτο τελος τη μαχη εγενετο, ετει αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αριστοφανους, μηνος Πυανεψιωνος." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--215.

[e] "Επ' Αριστοφωντος αρχοντος——καθ' ὁν χρονον Αλεξανδρος την εν Αρβηλοις ενικεν μαχην." Dion. Halic. Epiſt. ad Ammæum. Tom. 6.--746.

[f] "Και την επ' Αριστοφωντος ποτε γενομενην τω ρητορος μαχην." (Theophraſti Charact. 7.--34. 8vo Cant. 1712.) Theophraſtus does not here particularly ſpecify the engagement, and I believe Cauſabon is the only Editor who ſuggeſted that the ſentence alludes to the battle near Gaugamele.—On this conſtruction the Greek author muſt undoubtedly have miſtaken the year. As the celebrated battle, however in which Agis the ſon of Archidamus fell at Megalopolis, and in which Greece had ſuch an intereſt, was really fought under the Archonſhip of Ariſtophon. (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom.--2. 208.) It is more natural to imagine that action was intended to be referred to.

[g] Q. Curtius hath given the following account of the ſurrender of Babylon.——"Babylonem procedenti Alexandro Mazæus, qui ex acie in urbem confugerat, cum adultis liberis ſupplex occurrit, urbem ſeque dedens." He adds, "Gratus adventus ejus fuit regi. Quippe magni operis futura

us[h] relates that four thouſand Greeks, who had been barbarouſly mutilated in addition to the misfortune of captivity, here threw themſelves in Alexander's way. This melancholy ſpectacle affected him exceedingly; and melting with compaſſion at the recital of their ſufferings, he offered them the choice of a reſidence in the country which they then inhabited, or a return into Greece. —A quiet and undiſturbed aſylum, where they might wear out the remainder of their days, was all that in their ſituation could be wiſhed; and they preferred a ſettlement at a diſtance, by which their fellow-citizens and friends might at leaſt be ſpared the ſhock of ſeeing their deplorable condition. Q. Curtius, as uſual, does not fail to furniſh us with a ſpeech[i] to theſe unfortunate captives, whoſe number as appears from Diodorus Siculus[k] and Juſtin,[l] did not exceed eight hundred. Arrian hath not mentioned them, and from his ſilence we may ſtill doubt of this wanton exceſs of cruelty.

V The

futura erat obſidio tam munitæ urbis." (Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--307.) But if we are to believe Herodotus, Darius had diſmantled the city and ruined its fortifications after its revolt. "Βαβυλων νυν μεν ὁυτω τοδευτερον ἁιρεθη· Δαρειος δε επει τε εκρατησε των βαβυλωνιων, τουτο μεν, σφεων το τειχος περιειλε, και τας πυλας πασας απεστασε" Herodotus. Lib. 3.--278.

h "Miſerabile agmen, inter pauca Fortunæ exempla memorandum, regi occurrit. Captivi erant Græci ad quatuor millia fere, quos Perſæ vario ſuppliciorum modo adfecerant, alios pedibus, quoſdam manibus auribuſque amputatis, inuſtiſque barbararum literarum notis." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--342.

i Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--344.

k "Απηντησαν γαρ αυτω μεθ' ἱκετηριων Ἑλληνες ὑπο των προτερον Βασιλεων αναξατοι γεγονοτες, οκτακοσιοι μεν σχεδον τον αριθμον οντες, ταις δ' ἡλικιαις οἱ πολειοι μεν γεγηρακοτες, ηκρωτηριασμενοι δε παντες· οἱ μεν χειρας, οἱ δε ποδας, οἱ δε ωτα και ρινας" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--213.

l "Octingenti admodum Græci occurrunt Alexandro, qui pœnam captivitatis truncatâ corporis parte tulerunt." Juſtin. Lib. 11. C. 14.--295.

The Macedonian army paſſed the Caſpian defiles, and followed Darius in his retreat with aſtoniſhing celerity. Soon afterwards they received intelligence, that Beſſus and his accomplices, after loading Darius with chains, had added aſſaſſination to their crimes, and put their unfortunate Monarch to death. The hiſtorians of Alexander, and particularly Q. Curtius, have taken no little pains to heighten the death of Darius with every intereſting and pathetic circumſtance.———In his laſt moments he is repreſented addreſſing his prayers to Heaven for the proſperity of his victorious enemy, and diſcovers a grandeur of ſoul, that may not poſſibly have been his own.——They finiſh the affecting portrait by painting his amiable and humane qualities, and a ſtrong and ſtriking contraſt ariſes between his misfortunes and his virtues. But the Eaſtern traditions have handed down to us the character of this laſt King of the Kaianides in darker ſhades, and the cruelty of his temper in conjunction with his tyranny, is recorded to have drawn down upon him the general indignation of his ſubjects, and led him to his ruin. [m]

The

[m] Herbelot Bibl. Oriental. Dara. Dr. Gillies in his valuable Hiſtory of Greece, obſerves, if "the faſhionable ſcepticiſm of the times ſhould heſitate, the reader has only to aſk what Oriental hiſtorian has related the tranſactions of Darius with the fulneſs and accuracy ſo conſpicuous in Arrian?"——The ſeveral authors who have tranſmitted to us an account of the cruelty of the Perſian Monarch may be ſeen in Herbelot: I do not vouch for their authority, but in the aggregate, notwithſtanding they vary in a few circumſtances, they may have ſome weight. Q. Curtius hath left a memorable inſtance of his barbarity upon record. "Nam etiam faucii quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant perſequi, excepti erant. Quos omnes, inſtinctu Purpuratorum, barbarâ feritate ſævientium, præciſis aduſtiſque manibus circumduci, ut copias ſuas noſcerent; ſatiſque omnibus ſpectatis, nuntiare quæ vidiſſent regi ſuo, juſſit." (Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1.--108.)

The Perſian Monarch cloſed his unhappy reign in the month Hecatombœon, when Ariſtophon was Archon at Athens, as Arrian[n] tells us, in the third year of the 112th Olympiad, nine months after the fatal battle of Gaugamele, according to Uſher,[o] inſtead of a year and ſome months, as Sir Iſaac Newton hath conjectured.[p]

The Greeks in the Perſian pay, continued to ſerve Darius with unſhaken fidelity and fortitude to the laſt moment of his life. At the death of this Prince they amounted to fifteen hundred, and followed the ſtandard of Artabaſes, but he was ſoon obliged to

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1.--108.) and where he mentions the original mildneſs and tractability of the Perſian Monarch's diſpoſition, it ſeems, in the latter part of life, theſe virtues had diſappeared. "Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, niſi ſuam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Itaque, veritatis impatiens, hoſpitem ac ſupplicem, tunc maxime utilia ſuadentem, abſtrahi juſſit ad capitale ſupplicium." (Lib. 3. C. 3. Tom. 1.--69, 70.)——Arrian mentions the maſſacre of the ſick and wounded Macedonians at Iſſus, by Darius, in ſevere terms, "Χαλεπως αικισαμενος απεκτεινεν" (Lib. 2. C. 7.--120.) and though he hath afterwards defended his character, it is in a manner perhaps that ſhews it was liable to objection. "Εις δε τα αλλα ουδεν ανεπιεικες εργον αποδειξαμενω, η ουδε εγγενομενον αυτω αποδειξασθαι· ὁτι ὁμου μεν εις την βασιλειαν παρελθειν, ὁμου δε προσπολεμεισθαι παρος τε Μακεδονων κ᾽ των Ελληνων ξυνεβη· ουκεν ουδε εθελοντι εξην ετι ὑβριζειν ες τους ὑπηκοους, εν μειζονι κινδυνω ὑπερ εκεινοι καθεσηκοτι·" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 22.--233.) The "Ουκεν ουδε εθελοντι εξην ετι ὑβριζειν ες τους ὑπηκοους," is no very flattering compliment to his memory. When there is no power of being vicious, virtue becomes equivocal, and ceaſes almoſt to deſerve the name.

n "Τουτο το τελος Δαρειω εγενετο, επι αρχοντος Αθηναιοις Αριστοφωντος, μηνος Εκατομβαιωνος." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 22.--233.

o See Uſherii Annales. 324, 325. Folio. 1650.

p Chronology of ancient kingdoms. 355.

accept of the terms which the Macedonian Monarch offered him, and the Greeks were perſuaded to ſurrender. Diodorus Siculus[q] and Q. Curtius[r] inform us, with ſome trifling variations, that they were diſtributed in the different diviſions of the Macedonian army, but Arrian[s] aſſerts they formed a ſeparate and detached corps under the command of Andronicus, who had prevailed on them to rely on Alexander's clemency, and to offer him their future ſervices.

This little intrepid band of Warriors ſurvived the ruin of the Perſian

[q] Diodorus Siculus ſeems to intimate that this Grecian corps, hearing of the favourable reception that many of the officers of Darius had met with, made a voluntary offer of its ſervices to Alexander. "Πολλοι των συμπεφευγοτων ἡγεμονων τω Δαρειω παρεδωκαν αυτȣς· ὁις επιεικως προσενεχθεις, μεγαλην δοξαν επιεικειας απηνεγκατο· ευθυς γαρ ὁι Δαρειω συεςρατευμενοι των Ἑλληνων, οντες περι χιλιȣς ϗ πεντακοσιȣς, ανδρεια τε διαφεροντες, παρεδοσαν ἑαυτȣς Αλεξανδρω· ϗ συγγνωμης αξιωθεντες, κατεταχθησαν εις τας ταξεις επι ταις αυταις μισθοφοραις·" Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--219.

[r] Q. Curtius hath preſerved this generous but ineffectual effort for the ſafety of the Spartans who had joined them. "Græcos, quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari jubet: at illi, niſi Lacedæmoniis fides daretur, reſpondent, ſe quid agendum ipſis foret, deliberaturos. Legati erant Lacedæmoniorum miſſi ad Darium, quo victo adplicaverunt ſe Græcis mercede apud Perſas militantibus. Rex omiſſis ſponſionum fideique pignoribus, venire eos juſſit, fortunam quam ipſe dediſſet habituros. Diu cunctantes, pleriſque conſiliis variantibus, tandem venturos ſe pollicentur. At Democrates Athenienſis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus ſemper obſtiterat, veniâ deſperatâ, gladio ſe transfugit. Ceteri, ſicut conſtituerant, ditioni Alexandri ſe ipſos permittunt. Mille et quingenti milites erant. Præter hos legati ad Darium miſſi nonaginta. In ſupplementum diſtributus miles: ceteri remiſſi domum, præter Lacedæmonios, quos tradi in cuſtodiam juſſit. (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--416, 417.) The negotiation may be ſeen in Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 23, 24.--239.) who hath ably vindicated the Macedonian Monarch.

[s] "Τȣς δε αλλȣς ξυςρατευεσθαι ὁι επι μισθω τω αυτω εκελευσε· ϗ επιταξεν αυτοις Ανδρονικον, ὁσπερ ηγαγε τε αυτȣς, ϗ ενδηλος εγεγονει ȣ φαυλον ποιȣμενος ϛωϛαι τȣς ανδρας." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 24.--239.

Perſian Empire, after having defended it with uncommon bravery, at the battles of the Granicus, of Iſſus, and of Gaugamele. Their companions had either all fallen under the Macedonian arm, or had been made priſoners. Leoſthenes ſeems therefore to have no pretenſions to be ranked by Pauſanias[t] amongſt the benefactors of his country for his embarkation, in oppoſition to Alexander's inclinations, of fifty thouſand Greeks, who had ſerved in the Perſian armies, and his reſtoration of them to their country. Greece itſelf was hardly capable of maintaining an army of fifty thouſand men, and the circumſtance is not confirmed by any work of the ancients, that hath deſcended to us.

Alexander's conduct and the reſolution, that he took in the purſuit of Beſſus, prove the ſtrength of his underſtanding, if any credit is due to Q. Curtius. The Macedonian army having diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction at the Prince's future projects, which opened to them only freſh ſcenes of difficulty and danger, he ordered both his own baggage, and that of the whole army to be burnt.[w] Plutarch

[t] "Ειναι δε ἁπαντων Ἑλληνων ϗ Λεωσθενην τιθεναι ϗ Αρατον ευεργετας· ὁ μεν γε το Ἑλληνων μισθοφορικον, ϗ εν Περσαις περι πεντε πȣ μυριαδας επι θαλασσαν καταβαντας ναυσιν, ες την Ελλαδα ανεσωσε ϗ ακοντος Αλεξανδρȣ." Pauſanias 706.

[w] "Quum grave ſpoliis, adparatuque luxuriæ agmen vix moveretur; ſuas primum, deinde totius exercitus ſarcinas, exceptis admodum neceſſariis, conferri juſſit in medium. Planities ſpatioſa erat, in quam vehicula onuſta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis, quid deinde eſſet imperaturus, jumenta juſſit abduci; ſuiſque primum ſarcinis face ſubditâ, ceteras incendi præcepit. Flagrabant exurentibus dominis, quæ ut intacta ex urbibus hoſtium raperent, ſæpe flammas reſtinxerant; nullo

tarch[x] relates the ſame fact, but he gives it a later date, and refers it to the commencement of the Indian expedition; though Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus appear not to have taken notice of it, as may be inferred from Arrian's ſilence, who made great uſe of their memoirs.

The Macedonian Monarch extended his conqueſts beyond the Iaxartes, and defeated the Scythians who ſent an embaſſy to him previous to the engagement. Q. Curtius hath tranſmitted to us the ſubſtance of the ſpeech, in which the deputies addreſſed Alexander, but its authenticity hath been diſputed. "If[y] the gods had given you a body ſuitable to the inſatiable greedineſs of your mind,

lo ſanguinis pretium audente deflere, quum regias opes idem ignis exureret." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--429.

x "Μελλων δε ὑπερβαλλειν εις την Ινδικην, ὡς ἑωρα πληθει λαφυρων την ϛρατιαν ηδη βαρειαν καὶ δυσκινητον ουσαν, ἀμ' ἡμερα συνεσκευασμενων των ἀμαξων, πρωτας μεν ὑπεπρεσεν τας αυτε καὶ των ἑταιρων· μετα δε ταυτας εκελευσε καὶ ταις των Μακεδονων ενειναι πυρ." Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696, 697.

y "Si Dii habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem eſſe voluiſſent; orbis te non caperet: alterâ manu Orientem; alterâ Occidentem contingeres. Et hoc adſequutus ſcire velles, ubi tanti numinis fulgor conderetur. Sic quoque concupiſcis, quæ non capis. Ab Europâ petis Aſiam; ex Aſiâ tranſis in Europam: deinde ſi humanum genus omne ſuperaveris; cum ſilvis, et nivibus, et fluminibus, ferifque beſtiis geſturus es bellum. Quid tu, ignoras arbores magnos diu creſcere, unâ horâ extirpari? Stultus eſt, qui fructus earum ſpectat, altitudinem non metitur. Vide, ne dum ad cacumen pervenire contendis; cum ipſis ramis, quos comprehenderis, decidas. Leo quoque aliquando minimarum avium pabulum fuit: et ferrum rubigo conſumit. Nihil tam firmum eſt, cui periculum non ſit etiam ab invalido. Quid nobis tecum eſt? nunquam terram tuam adtigimus. Qui ſis, unde venias, licetne ignorare in vaſtis ſilvis viventibus? nec ſervire ulli poſſumus, nec imperare deſideramus." (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--543, 544.) "Scythæ ipſi omnium literarum rudes rhetorico calamiſtro inuſti in medium proderunt," is a part of the ſevere judgment that Le Clerc (Jud. Cort. 326.) hath paſſed upon this harangue.

mind, the world would not be able to contain you; you would ſtretch one arm out to the fartheſt extremities of the Eaſt, and the other to the remoteſt bounds of the Weſt; and not content therewith, would be for examining where the glorious body of the Sun hid itſelf; but even as you are, your ambition attempts what you are not capable of. You paſs out of Europe into Aſia, and from Aſia you return again to Europe; and when you have overcome all mankind, rather than be quiet, you'll quarrel with the woods and the mountains, the rivers and wild beaſts. Can you be ignorant, that large trees are a long time a growing, tho' an hour be ſufficient to cut them down? he is a fool that coveteth their fruit, without duly conſidering their height. Take heed that while you ſtrive to climb up to the top, you do not fall headlong with thoſe branches you have graſped. A lion has been ſometime the prey of the ſmalleſt birds; and iron itſelf is conſumed by ruſt. In fine, there is nothing ſo firm and ſtrong, but is in danger of periſhing by what is weaker. What have you to do with us? we never ſo much as ſet foot in your country. Shall not we who paſs our lives in the woods, be allowed to be ignorant who you are, and whence you come? know, that as we are not greedy of empire, ſo neither can we ſubmit to be ſlaves."[z] Q. Curtius continues the harangue, and in ſome ſentences perhaps expreſſes himſelf with a delicacy rather too refined, and a philoſophy in ſome meaſure inconſiſtent with the ſpeakers' characters.

"Our

[z] Digby's Q. Curtius, Vol. 2.—42, 43.

"Our[a] poverty will ſtill be too nimble for your army, that is laden with the ſpoils of ſo many nations. Again, when you think us the fartheſt from you, you ſhall find us within your camp. We are equally ſwift either to fly or purſue.————Hold therefore your fortune as cloſe as you can, for ſhe is ſlippery, and will not be held againſt her will. Wholeſome advice is better diſcovered by the conſequences, than the preſent. Put a curb therefore to your proſperity, and you will govern it the better. We have a ſaying amongſt us, that fortune is without feet, and has only hands and wings, and that when ſhe reaches out her hands, ſhe will not ſuffer her wings to be touched."[b] This allegory on the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the uncertainty of human greatneſs is poſſibly too ingenious for a people drawn from paſtoral life, which hath little, if any, connection with literature and learning. If Q. Curtius had ſhortened this oration the ſentiments would certainly have had more force, and the images more expreſſion, but he could not deviate from himſelf. The matter however, it muſt be allowed, is very analogous to the genius of the perſons, who are ſuppoſed to have pronounced the harangue, and the Coſtume, to ſpeak metaphorically,

[a] "Paupertas noſtra velocior erit, quum exercitus tuus, prædam tot nationum vehit. Rurſus quum procul abeſſe nos credes, videbis in tuis caſtris, eadem velocitate et ſequimur et fugimus.————Proinde fortunam tuam preſſis manibus tene. Lubrica eſt, nec invita teneri poteſt. Salubre conſilium ſequens quum præſens, tempus oſtendit melius, impone felicitati tuæ frenos, facilius illam reges. Noſtri ſine pedibus dicant eſſe fortunam, quæ manus et pennas tantum habet; quum manus porrigit, pennas quoque comprehendere non ſinit. Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--247, 248.

[b] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--44.

metaphorically, is well preſerved. Under theſe circumſtances, there may be therefore ſome injuſtice in ſuſpecting its reality. [c]

The language of a rude and uncivilized people is generally a figurative language, and their metaphors, which are both bold and nervous, are as often introduced in their familiar converſation, as by our modern poets in an Epic poem. Their ſpeeches and harangues are naturally replete with images, with energy, and paſſion, and the ſame alluſions are reſorted to by the Scythian and the Savage. [d] The imagination of a people, neither enſlaved by artificial wants, nor corrupted by prejudices, muſt be ſtrongly affected by the great objects of nature, and every thing, that intereſts their preſervation and their liberty, muſt be one of the moſt powerful incentives that can actuate them.

Every ſentiment in this Scythian ſpeech is borrowed from the

[c] Maſcardi. Tract. della Art. Hiſt. C. 2. Ep. 1.—Rooke's Tranſlation of Arrian. Vol. 1. --220.—Voltaire Eſſai ſur le Mœurs et l'Eſprit des Nations. Tom. 14.--52. Ed. 8vo Geneve, 1775.

[d] "Figurative language," a great Writer hath obſerved, "owes its riſe chiefly to two cauſes; to the want of proper names for objects, and to the influence of imagination and paſſion over the form of expreſſion. Both theſe cauſes concur in the infancy of Society. Figures are commonly conſidered as artificial modes of ſpeech, deviſed by orators and poets, after the world had advanced to a refined ſtate. The contrary of this is the truth. Men never have uſed ſo many figures of ſtyle, as in thoſe rude ages, when, beſides the power of a warm imagination to ſuggeſt lively images, the want of proper and preciſe terms for the ideas they would expreſs, obliged them to have recourſe to circumlocution, metaphor, compariſon, and all thoſe ſubſtituted forms of expreſſion, which give a poetical air to language. An American chief, at this day, harangues at the head of his tribe, in a more bold metaphorical ſtyle, than a modern European would adventure to uſe in an Epic poem." Blair's Diſſert. Oſſian. Vol. 2.--285, 286. 8vo 1785.

viſible world, and every compariſon drawn from ſenſible and immediate objects, which are hourly preſented to the ſavage eye. One while, it is the ſetting ſun, the fall of an aged oak, the ruſt that devoureth the iron; at another it is a war declared againſt the woods and waters, and in a word the fear of groaning under a foreign yoke, and ſeeing an enemy penetrate into their foreſts, to trouble their repoſe and civilize them. Theſe are their firſt and principal apprehenſions, and they give both an impulſe to their eloquence, and rouſe every faculty of the ſoul, for the purpoſe of repelling to a diſtance the ſtorm, which menaces at once their liberty and manners.

The Latin hiſtorian was, notwithſtanding, aware that his fidelity was open to ſome diſquiſition, and that his Scythian oration had no great pretenſions either to belief or popular applauſe. "It[e] is ſaid," he tells us, "they addreſſed themſelves to the King in the following terms; which though perhaps different from our manners, who live in a politer age, and have our parts better improved, yet ſuch as it is, we ſhall faithfully relate, hoping that if their ſpeech be deſpiſed, our integrity will not be ſuſpected."[f]

Giving Q. Curtius credit for this proteſtation there are ſtill ſome apparent variations in the form of the harangue, and the colouring,

[e] "Abhorrent forſitan moribus noſtris et tempora et ingenia cultiora fortitis; ſed ut poſſit oratio eorum ſperni, tamen fides noſtra non debet, quæ utcunque tradita ſunt, incorrupta perferemus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--542.

[f] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--42.

ing, that he hath given it, to render it more agreeable to the taſte of his own times, as well as to ſhew a little of his own ingenuity, is eaſily diſcernible. The laſt reproach he ſeems to have particularly foreſeen, as he aſſures us, the Scythians [g] were perſons of ſuperior talents, and more improved underſtandings, than the reſt of the Barbarians; but his ideas on the difference of the taſte of his own times and that of the Scythians weaken the force of the obſervation. The Latin hiſtorian does not appear alſo to have ſufficiently conſidered the nature of the eloquence of a ſavage people, which equally originates from a poverty of language, and a ſimplicity of manners. [h] As nations become civilized, their ideas change, and the imagination is no longer affected, as in the ruder ſtate of ſociety, by the ſame objects. Their manner of viewing things, and their method of expreſſion neceſſarily vary, and their language cannot at the ſame time bear the impreſſion of the ſeparate and diſtinct characters of a ſavage and a poliſhed people. It is not in the power of Q. Curtius to reconcile the contradiction, but it is time to return to Alexander and his expeditions.

If the companions of the Macedonian Hero, who were beſt able to deſcribe his exploits from having been perſonally concerned in them, do not always agree in their accounts of the ſame facts,

[g] "Scythis autem non ut cæteris barbaris rudis et inconditus ſenſus eſt." Q. Curtius, Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--542.

[h] The Abbe Arnaud hath made ſome ſenſible obſervations on this ſubject. Diſcours ſur les Langues, Var. Lit. Tom. 1.

ſome indulgence is certainly due to writers, who have afterwards taken up the ſame ſubject, and deſcribed it differently. Arrian hath faithfully preſerved the contradictory teſtimony of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus[i] on the capture of Cyropolis. Ptolemy pretends that the city ſurrendered, and that its inhabitants were made priſoners: Ariſtobulus aſſures us that it was taken by aſſault, and that the garriſon and citizens were indiſcriminately put to the ſword. It is extraordinary that there ſhould have exiſted a city with the name of Cyropolis in theſe remote regions; but notwithſtanding the Greeks ſometimes tranſlated into their own language the names of cities, they choſe in preference to give them new ones founded on ſome tradition, which they adopted without diſcernment, and Cyropolis may have been amongſt the number.

Q. Curtius hath committed an error, and been led into a miſtake by the name of Hecatompylos, which Seleucus Nicanor beſtowed on a city in Parthia.[k] Mentioning this city in the progreſs of Alexander's conqueſts, he infers that it was founded by the Greeks,[l] though they were utter ſtrangers to Parthia, before it was reduced under this Prince's obedience.

Theſe

[i] "Την δε ἑβδομην, πολιν εξ εφοδȣ ελαϐε. Πτολεμαιος μεν λεγει ὁτι αυτȣς σφας ενδοντας· Αριςοβȣλος δε, ὁτι ϐια ϗ ταυτην εξειλε, ϗ ὁτι παντας τȣς καταληφθεντας εν αυτη απεκτεινε· Πτολεμαιος δε κατανειμαι λεγει αυτον τȣς Ανθρωπȣς τη ςρατια ϗ δεδεμενȣς κελευσας φυλαττεσθαι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 3.--263.

[k] Appian. De Bello Syriac. Tom. 1.--201. Amſt. 8vo 1670.

[l] "Urbs erat eâ tempeſtate clara Hecatompylos, condita a Græcis: ubi ſtativa rex habuit." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--398, 399.

Theſe Fables and Anachroniſms are the reſult of the changes in the names of places, and cities, and they occaſion a multitude of miſtakes and difficulties.

After many different expeditions, the Macedonian army went into winter-quarters at Mautaca; but early in the ſpring it took again the field, and marched to attack the Rock, to which Oxyartes had retreated with the Sogdians. The Macedonian bravery and diſcipline were again conſpicuous, and the garriſon overawed and aſtoniſhed at the wonderful efforts of their enemy, laid down their arms.

The capture of Aornus which had ſucceſsfully reſiſted Hercules,[m] and the ſubmiſſion of Nyſa, ſuppoſed to have been founded by Bacchus, were two events that naturally furniſhed Alexander's followers with the ſubject of a parallel between the Grecian Hero and the two Pagan Deities. But it may be queſtioned if Bacchus and Hercules were ever known in India or the Eaſt. The adoration of theſe Divinities was equally repugnant to the religious principles and manners of the inhabitants, and Megaſthenes, a profeſſed partiſan of the ſuppoſition, ſpeaks of it only as traditionary,[n] and of Greek extraction. The arrival of Hercules in India,

[m] "Εφασαν τον Ἡρακλεα, τρις μεν προσβαλειν τη πετρα ταυτη, τρις δ' αποκρουσθηναι." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1008.

[n] "Και περι Αλεξανδρου, Διονυσου περι πολλου λογου κατεχει, ὡς ἡ τουτου στρατευσαντος εις Ινδους, ἡ καταστρεψαμενη Ινδους· Ἡρακλεους δε περι, ου πολλου·" Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 5.--559.

India, is conſidered even by this writer as very problematical,[o] but the opinion hath nevertheleſs been adopted by writers ſince the reign of Alexander, and tranſmitted to poſterity on the apparent deciſive evidence of public monuments.[p] Strabo gives us the ſentiments of ſeveral writers who ſuppoſed the Oxydrachians to have been deſcended from Bacchus, and the Sibians to have ſprung from the companions[q] of Hercules; but he refutes very rationally theſe abſurd traditions, and introduces the opinions of the writers, that he mentions, with the following ſentence. "Megaſthenes and a few other authors believe the ſtories which have been told of Hercules and Bacchus, but Eratoſthenes and the greater number conſider them as fables, and as little deſerving of any credit, as many other relations of the Greeks."[r]

Alexander traverſed the Paropamiſus, entered into an alliance with Taxilus and Abiſares, and afterwards advanced to give battle to Porus, who had the courage to oppoſe the victorious army of the

[o] "Ἡρακλεȣς δε ȣ πολλα ὑπομνηματα·" Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 5.--559.

[p] The Farneſian palace at Rome, contains an inſcription, in which the arrival of Hercules on the banks of the Indus, and the foundation of a city with his name amongſt the Sibians are mentioned. Corſini hath very amply commented upon it. Herculis Exped. Geſta et Labores. 37.

[q] The weak pretenſions to this conſanguinity may be ſeen in Strabo, Lib. 15.--1008. and Arrian, Hiſt. Ind. C. 5.

[r] "Και τα Ἡρακλεȣς δε, ϗ Διονυσȣ, Μεγασθενης μεν μετ' ολιγων πιςα ἡγειται· των δ' αλλων οἱ πλειȣς, ὡν εςι ϗ Ερατοσθενης, απιςα ϗ μυθωδε, καθαπερ ϗ τα παρα τοις Ἑλληϛιν." (Strabo. Lib. 15.--1007.) The Baron de St. Croix ſays "Il finit en ces termes." To have expreſſed himſelf correctly he ſhould have ſaid "Il commence en ces termes." The error is a ſtrange one.

the Macedonian Monarch, and endeavoured to check the rapidity of his conqueſts. The Indian prince was advantageouſly poſted on the banks of the Hydaſpes,[s] in a ſituation that he had judiciouſly choſen to ſecure the paſſage of the river. A variety of manœuvres were made by the Macedonian army, which had been divided into different bodies, to deceive the enemy, and conceal the real place, in which the Hydaſpes was intended to be croſſed. Their firſt attempt was unſucceſsful, and miſcarried. During a very ſtormy night attended with very heavy rain, another effort was made, and the Macedonian Monarch eluded the vigilance of his antagoniſt and aided by the elements effected the paſſage of the river with ſafety. The Hydaſpes, which was interſected by iſlands, and its ſteep and broken banks covered with wood, afforded him ſome local advantages, which he did not ſuffer to eſcape him. Arrian hath deſcribed the intereſting movements[t] of both armies with great clearneſs and accuracy, but it is unneceſſary to enter into them at length. Ariſtobulus[w] relates that the ſon of Porus, who at firſt appeared diſpoſed to diſpute the paſſage, afterwards retreated with ſixty chariots, that he had with him; but other writers[x] aſſure us on the contrary, that the young prince attacked

[s] The modern Behut or Chælum.

[t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 12, 13, 14.--363——368.

[w] "Αριστοβουλος δε τον Πορου παιδα λεγει σφαζαι αφικομενον ξυν αρμαζιν ως ἑξηκοντα, πριν το ὑστερον εκ της μαχης της μικρας περαζαι Αλεξανδρον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367.

[x] "Οι δε και μαχην λεγουζιν εν τε εκβαζει γενεσθαι των Ινδων των ξυν τω παιδι τω Πορου αφιγμενων περος Αλεξανδρον'——Και γαρ και αφικεσθαι ξυν μειζονι δυναμει τον Πορου παιδα, και αυτον τε Αλεξανδρον

attacked the Macedonian army with a ſuperiority of forces, and wounded with his own hand both Alexander's horſe Bucephalus, and Alexander. Arrian rejects theſe accounts, and beſtows his principal attention upon Ptolemy who ſignalized himſelf very particularly in this memorable engagement. From this general's report,[y] the ſon of Porus was detached with a hundred and twenty chariots and two thouſand horſe, but he arrived too late to be of the intended ſervice, as Alexander had already paſſed the laſt channel of the river. The Grecian Hero inſtantly attacked the Indian detachment, and the ſon of Porus was left dead upon the field, and a part of his troops and chariots taken. A general action ſoon followed, and Cænus with a detachment of the Macedonian troops appearing in the rear of the Indian army, it was under the neceſſity of changing its order of battle. In this diſtreſſing moment, Alexander made a ſucceſsful attack with his cavalry on the diviſion oppoſed to him, and it was puſhed back upon the elephants, who became very unruly and increaſed the confuſion. The whole of the Macedonian cavalry being afterwards

ανδρων τρωθηναι παρ'αυτω, ϗ τον ἱππον αυτω αποθανειν τον Βυκεφαλαν, φιλτατον Αλεξανδρω ονται των ἱππων, ϗ τουτον τρωθεντα ὑπο του παιδος του Πωρου." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367.) The Baron de St. Croix's expreſſion is "Que Juſtin a pris pour guides," but I do not find it authorized by the text of Juſtin. "Nec Alexander pugnæ moram fecit: ſed primâ congreſſione vulnerato equo, cum præceps in terram decidiſſet, concurſu Satellitum ſervatus. Porus multis vulneribus obrutus capitur," (Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 37.--322, 323.) is the brief deſcription of this deciſive action.

[y] "Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου, ὁτω ϗ ξυμφερομαι, αλλως λεγει· εκπεμφθηναι μεν γαρ ϗ τον παιδα ὑπο του Πωρου, αλλ'ουκ ἑξηκοντα μονα ἁρματα αλογα——αλλα δισχιλιους γαρ λεγει ἱππεας αγοντα αφικεσθαι τον Πωρου παιδα, ἁρματα δε ἑκατον ϗ εικοσι· φθαζαι δε περαζαντα Αλεξανδρον ϗ τον εκ της νησου τον τελευταιον πορον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367, 368.

wards thrown into a body, and hemming in the enemy, the phalanx was directed to form very closely and attack them, by which great numbers of them were slain. Craterus also, who had been left on the opposite banks of the Hydaspes to deceive Porus and divide his attention, crossed the river during the engagement, and completed the rout. The vanquished Monarch lost two of his sons in the action, near twenty thousand of his infantry, three thousand of his cavalry, and all his chariots and elephants. Arrian from whom these circumstances[z] are borrowed, reduces the Macedonian loss to two hundred and thirty of the cavalry, and eighty of the infantry, but Diodorus Siculus differs with him. The latter writer reckons the Indians to have left twelve thousand men on the field of battle, and to have had nine thousand made prisoners. The victory, however, according to his statement, cost Alexander two hundred and eighty of his cavalry and above seven hundred of his infantry,[a] which certainly appears more probable

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[z] On a review of these circumstances, which the Baron de St Croix had extracted from Arrian, I felt the obligation of new moulding the whole. They now stand nearly as Arrian relates them, but the first confusion was not the consequence of "Le desordre que les elephants causoient dans le rangs." "Οι περι Κοινον, ὡς παρηγγελτο, κατοπιν αυτοις επεφαινοντο· Ταυτα ξυνιδοντες οἱ Ινδοι, αμφισομον ηναγκασθησαν ποιησαι την ταξην της ἱππου——τουτο τε εν ευθυς εταραξε τας ταξεις τε καὶ τας γνωμας των Ινδων." "Alexandre rassembla sa cavalerie" is directly contradicted by the "Και εν τουτω πασα ἡ ἱππος Αλεξανδρω ες μιαν ιλην ηδη ξυνηγμενη, ουκ εκ παραγγελματος, αλλα εν τω αγωνι αυτω ες τηνδε την ταξιν καταστασα·" and the "Ce prince perdit dans cette bataille——deux mille hommes de pied," is an unpardonable translation of the "Απεθανον δε των Ινδων πεζοι μεν ολιγον αποδεοντες των δυσμυριων·" Arrian. Exped. Alex, Lib. 5. C. 17, 18.--372——375.

[a] "Επεσον δ'εν τη μαχη των Ινδων πλειους των μυριων καὶ δισχιλιων, εκ δὲ ὑπηρχον καὶ δυο υἱοι του Πωρου, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοι, καὶ οἱ επιφανεστατοι των ἡγεμονων· ζωντες δε ανδρες ἑαλωσαν ὑπερ ενακισχιλιους·——των δε Μακεδονων επεσον μεν ἱππεις διακοσιοι καὶ ογδοηκοντα, πεζοι δε πλειους των ἑπτακοσιων·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--229.

than Arrian's account, though his deſcription of the engagement merits great encomiums. That of Diodorus Siculus is marked with ſtrong features of uncommon negligence, and even the paſſage of the Hydaſpes, which was of ſo much conſequence, is totally omitted.

The confuſion of Q. Curtius, with his contradictions and abſurdities, might afford materials for a long digreſſion, but a few examples will be ſufficient. "When you ſee me, with Ptolemy, Perdiccas and Hephæſtion, charge the enemy's left wing, and ſhall obſerve us to be in the heat of action, put the right wing in motion and charge the enemy,[b] &c. &c."—To attack the left wing of the enemy it was neceſſary for Alexander to have been at the head of his right wing, and Cœnus then could not have poſſibly commanded it. Yet a few lines afterwards, Q. Curtius tells us, that the Macedonian Prince having commenced the action agreeable to this diſpoſition, Cœnus attacked with impetuoſity the enemy's left wing.[c]

The extraordinary ſtature of King Porus, he tells us alſo, was apparently

[b] "Quum ego, inquit, Ptolemæo Perdiccâque et Hephæſtione comitatus in lævum hoſtium cornu impetum fecero, videriſque me in medio ardore certaminis; ipſe dextrum move et turbatis ſigna infer." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--661, 662.) The commentators have laboured to rectify this paſſage, but without effect.

[c] "Jamque; ut deſtinatum erat, invaſerat ordines hoſtium; quum Cœnus *ingenti* vi in lævum cornu invehitur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--663.

apparently augmented by the ſize of his Elephant,[d] which is an offence againſt the common rules of Perſpective. Porus received nine wounds in the action, from which he loſt a vaſt quantity of blood, and was ſo much weakened, that he had not ſtrength to throw a dart, but it fell uſeleſs from his hands.[e] We are afterwards informed, that a brother of Taxiles was ſent by Alexander to prevail on the Indian Monarch to lay down his arms. At the voice of this temporizing Prince, in a paroxyſm of rage, he ſeized the only remaining arrow in his quiver, and diſcharged it with ſuch violence, that it ſtretched the indiſcreet negotiator on the ground.[f] It might have been reaſonably imagined that this exertion would have entirely exhauſted him, but notwithſtanding his extreme debility, he reſumes his flight with greater expedition, and was ſtopped only by the wounds of his elephant.[g]

Arrian's account is not filled with ſuch glaring contradictions, nor manifeſt abſurdities. Porus receives a wound in his right

 ſhoulder,

[d] "Magnitudine Pori adjicere videbatur belua, quâ vehebatur, tantum inter ceteras eminens, quanto aliis ipſe præſtabat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--660, 661.

[e] "Novem jam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore exceperat, multoque ſanguine profuſo languidis manibus magis elapſa, quum excuſſa tela mittebat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2. --665.

[f] "At ille quamquam exhauſtæ erant vires, deficiebatque ſanguis; tamen ad notam vocem excitatus: agnoſco, inquit, Taxilis fratrem imperii regnique ſui proditoris: et telum, quod unum forte non effluxerat, contorſit in eum, quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--665.

[g] "Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito fugere acrius cæpit. ſed elephantus quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat, itaque ſiſtit fugam." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--665.

ſhoulder, the only vulnerable part of his body, which was every where elſe covered by his excellent armour, and unable to continue the engagement in perſon, he found it neceſſary to quit the field.——Taxiles is ſent afterwards to him, and at the ſight of his ancient enemy, Porus attacks him with a dart, from which he eſcapes only by flight. A ſecond negotiation is then opened under the management of Meroes, and Porus is prevailed upon to accept the terms, which Meroes was authorized by the Macedonian Monarch to offer him. [h]

This celebrated action bears date, according to Arrian, [i] in the month Munychion, during the magiſtracy of Hegemon, who was the Athenian Archon, in the ſecond year of the 118th Olympiad, 327 years before Chriſt. Diodorus Siculus [k] refers it to the magiſtracy of Chremes, the ſucceſſor of Hegemon, but Arrian's computation is confirmed by the authority of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, [l] which is both preferable to that of Diodorus Siculus, and is alſo demonſtrated to have been correct by Corſini in his Attic annals. [m]

Every

[h] Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 18.--377.

[i] "Τουτο το τελος της μαχης της προς τον Πωρον'——επ' αρχοντος Αθηναιοις Ηγεμονος, μηνος Μυνυχιωνος." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 19.--379.

[k] "Επ' αρχοντος δ' Αθηνησι Χρεμητος.——Αλεξανδρος εν τη Ταξιλε χωρα προς Καναλαβων την δυναμιν, εστρατευσεν επι Πωρον." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--228.

[l] Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus adds nothing to Arrian's authority, for he barely mentions Hegemon amongſt the other Athenian Archons. De Dinar. Judicium. Tom. 5.--649.

[m] Corſini. Att. Annal. Tom. 4.--47, 48.

Every thing ſtooped to Alexander after this victory, and he paſſed the Hyphaſis full of ardour and of expectation, with the reſolution of penetrating to the Ganges and of bounding his conqueſts only with the Univerſe. But the murmurs of his army ſtopped him in the midſt of his mighty projects, and ſhortened his vaſt career. Plutarch hath acknowledged to us the real cauſes of the diſſatisfaction of the Macedonian ſoldiers,[n] on whoſe ſpirits victory had only a momentary influence. The valour of Porus and the obſtinate reſiſtance of his troops were what they had neither foreſeen, nor been prepared for, and new difficulties and dangers threatened them at every ſtep that they advanced. On the banks of the Ganges they were aware of the formidable

[n] Both Philoſtratus (De Vit. Apoll. Lib. 2. C. 33.--86.) and Strabo (Lib. 15.--1025.) have ſuppoſed that ſome oracular denunciations ſtopped the Macedonian Monarch on the banks of the Hyphaſis, but mere political reaſons appear to have regulated his movements. "Τȣς μεν τοι Μακεδονας ὁ προς Πωρον αγων αμϐλυτερȣς εποιησεν, ϗ το προσω της Ινδικης ετι προσελθειν επεσχεν· μολις γαρ εκεινον ωσαμενοι, δισμυριοις πεζοις, ϗ δισχιλιοις ἱππευϹι παραταξαμενον, αντεςησαν ισχυρως Αλεξανδρω βιαζομενω ϗ τον Γαγγην περαϹαι ποταμον, ευρ☉ μεν αυτȣ, δυο ϗ τριαχοντα ςαδιων ειναι πυνθανομενοι, ϗ βαθ☉ οργυιας ἑκατον· αντιπερας δε τας οχθας αποκεκρυφθαι, πληθεϹιν ὁπλων ϗ ἱππων ϗ ελεφαντων· ελεγοντο γαρ οκτω μεν μυριαδας ἱπποτων, εικοϹι δε πεζων, ἁρματα δε οκτακισχιλια, ϗ μαχιμȣς ελεφαντας ἑξακισχιλιȣς εχοντες ὁι Γανδαριδων ϗ ΠραιϹιων βαϹιλεις ὑπομενειν· ϗ κομπ☉ ȣκ ην περι ταυτα." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--699.) Diodorus Siculus differs as to the power of the Gandarides, but imputes Alexander's retreat to the ſame prudential motives. "Καταντησας γαρ επι τον Γαγγην ποταμον μετα πασης της δυναμεως, ϗ τȣς αλλȣς Ινδȣς καταπολεμησας, ὡς επυθετο τȣς Γανδαριδας εχειν τετρακισχιλιȣς ελεφαντας πολεμικως κεκοσμηνȣς, απεγνω την επ' αυτȣς ςρατειαν." (Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--150.) And he declares afterwards that "Των Μακεδονων ȣδαμως συγκαταθεμενων, απεςη της επιβολης." (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--233.) Arrian alſo with great candour ſtates the mutiny. "Ὁι δε Μακεδονες εξεκαμνον ηδη ταις γνομαις, πονȣς τε εκ πονων ϗ κινδυνȣς εκ κινδυνων επαναιρȣμενον ὁρωντες τον βαϹιλεα· ξυλλογοι τε εγιγνοντο κατα το ςρατοπεδον, των μεν τα σφετερα οδυρομενων, ὁσοι επιεικεςατοι· των δε ȣκ ακολȣθησειν, ȣδ' ην αγη Αλεξανδρ☉, επιισχυριζομενων." Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 25.--393.

formidable powers, the Gangarides and Prasians, and the prospect before their eyes was filled with numerous and repeated engagements, in which there was every probability that the Grecian bravery must at last sink, overpowered by continual exertions against such hosts of enemies.

The banks of the Hyphasis were then the barrier, which Alexander could not pass. The followers of the Macedonian Monarch have indeed extended his military operations, and Craterus informed his mother Aristopatra, by letter, [o] that the Conqueror of the East had made his way to the Ganges. This letter was published, and, in all likelihood, gave some foundation for the error, [p] but

[o] "Εκδεδοται δε τις ϗ Κρατερȣ προς την μητερα Αριςοπατραν επιςολη, πολλα τε αλλα παραδοξα φραζȣσα, ϗ ȣκ ὁμολογȣσαι ȣδενι· ϗ δη ϗ το μεχρι το Γαγγȣ προελθειν τον Αλεξανδρον." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1027.

[p] "Και Αλεξανδρος ὁρμηθεις απο των μερων τȣτων αχρι τȣ Γαγγȣς διηλθε." Arrian. Perip. Maris Eryth. 169. 8vo Amst. 1683.

"————Macêtum fines, latebrasque suorum
Deseruit, victasque patri despexit Athenas.
Perque Asiæ populos fatis urgentibus actus,
Humanâ cum strage ruit, gladiumque per omnes
Exegit gentes: ignotos miscuit amnes,
Persarum Euphraten, Indorum sanguine Gangen."

Lucan. Phars. Lib. 10.--28——33.

See also Syncellus. 210.—Zonares. Lib. 4.--144. Philostratus pointedly denies the pretended fact: "Την δε χωραν ταυτην ȣδε επηλθεν ὁ Αλεξανδρος." (De Vit. Apoll. Lib. 2. C. 33.--86. Folio. Lips. 1709.) and though Diodorus Siculus states in the 2nd Book (Tom. 1.--150.) that Alexander reached the Ganges, in the 17th Book, he stops at the Hyphanis, (or Hyphasis, See Salmasii. Plin. Exercit. 55.) "Επι τον Ὑπανιν ποταμον προηγεν." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--332.) Whether the Greek historian afterwards discovered his mistake, or had forgotten the first part of his Work, I leave to be determined.

but the reſt of the occurrences, that it mentioned, were equally fictitious.——Juſtin relates that Alexander reduced the Aceſtes, the Praſides and Gangarides, and that he carried his victorious arms into the country of the Cuphites. Many other people are alſo taken notice of, whoſe names are as little known as that of the Cuphites, but this may be perhaps attributed to the corruption of the text. Neither Paulus Oroſius nor any of the manuſcripts have hitherto afforded any ſatisfactory information reſpecting the names of various towns and nations, which are ſo generally and ſo much disfigured in Juſtin. Little ſuſpicion is to be apprehended of any alteration in Plutarch's expreſſions, and if they carry the conſtruction, that the kingdom of Porus was the laſt of Alexander's conqueſts, the obſcurity may be naturally deduced from the confuſion of this writer, who hath not been ſufficiently attentive to the relation of events, and hath frequently inverted the order of the facts, that he mentions. [q]

The Itinerary of Bæton and of Diognetus, [r] and even the letters of Alexander, as well as all the hiſtorians of his life and actions, have

[q] Plutarch. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--699.

[r] "Diognetus et Bæton itinerum ejus menſores ſcripſere——ad Hypaſin,——qui fuit Alexandri itinerum terminus, exſuperato tamen amne, ariſque in adverſâ ripâ dicatis. Epiſtolæ quoque regis ipſius conſentiunt his. (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--683, 684.) Philoſtratus hath preſerved the votive inſcriptions. "ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ, ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ, ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΞΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ." (De Vit. Appol. Lib. 2. C. 43.--94.) A brazen column was ſaid alſo to have been raiſed, on which "ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΕΣΤΗ," was engraven.

have deſcribed the Altars erected by his order on the Eaſtern ſhore of the Hyphaſis,[s] which were twelve in number and rivalled the loftieſt towers in height and elevation. Theſe immenſe maſſes of ſtone were intended to perpetuate to future ages the memory of his conqueſts, and were conſidered at the ſame time as a grateful and acceptable offering to the Gods. Yet monuments, erected by hands ſtained with the blood of every Aſiatic nation, were certainly very queſtionable methods of imploring the favourable regard of Heaven, and from the inſatiable vanity of the Conqueror of the Eaſt more probably the real though concealed motives of the ſtructures are to be deduced.—The various towns and cities which Alexander founded in the different countries, that he paſſed through, are to be conſidered in the ſame point of view, and as trophies[t] of his victories. Plutarch[w] reckons them to have exceeded ſeventy,

[s] The modern Settledge or Suttaluz.

[t] Pauſanias advances "Ου γαρ τι Μακεδοσιν ἱςαναι τροπαια ην νενομισμενον·" and he produces Alexander as an inſtance: "Μαρτυρει δε τω λογω ϗ Αλεξανδρος, ȣκ αναςηϛας ȣτε επι Δαρειω τροπαια, ȣτε επι ταις Ινδικαις νικαις." (Lib. 9. C. 40.--794, 795.) But Q. Curtius (Lib. 3. C 12. Tom. 1.–143.) mentions three altars erected by the Macedonian Monarch after the battle of Iſſus, of which there were ſome remains in Cicero's time; (Epiſt. Famil. Lib. 15. Tom. 7.--526.) and Herodian more deciſively ſpeaks of a city built by the Macedonian Monarch in memory of the battle of Iſſus: "Μενει δε ετι νυν τροπαιον, ϗ δειγμα της νικης εκεινης πολις επι τȣ λοφȣ· &c." (Lib. 3.--63. Ed. Steph. 4to 1584.) Pocock ſuſpects a ruin that he ſaw to have been the foundation of the altars erected near Pinarus, and the remains of a thick wall on the ſouthern hills to have been part of this city of Nicopolis, built in honour of Alexander's victory over Darius. Pocock's Travels. Vol. 2. --176, 177.

[w] "Αλεξανδρος δε ὑπερ ἑβδομηκοντα πολεις βαρβαροις εθνεσιν εϛτισας, ϗ κατασπειρας την Ασιαν Ελληνικοις τελεσι της ανημερȣ ϗ θηριωδȣς εκρατησε διαιτης·" (Plut. De Fort vel Virt. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 2.--328.

ty, and he aſſures us that under Alexander's reign the wilds of Aſia were peopled by Grecian colonies, who diſſeminated inſtruction amongſt the natives, and reclaimed them from their rude and ſavage ſtate of life. Diodorus Siculus even pretends that the Conqueror built, near Paropamiſus, ſeveral towns which were only a ſingle day's journey from each[x] other.

Bucephalia[y] owed its name to the Conqueror's celebrated horſe Bucephalus, who died in its environs, and Sotion, according to Plutarch, relates his having heard from Potamon the Leſbian, that the Macedonian Monarch directed a town alſo to be built in honour of his favourite dog Perites.[z] Stephanus Byzantinus[a] ſpeaks of eighteen different cities under the name of Alexandria, one of which was ſituated in the iſland of Cyprus, and the author of the chronicle[b] of Alexandria places another in the Pentapolis of Africa, which the Conqueror of the Eaſt had never viſited.

This is apparently deciſive evidence of the exiſtence of theſe cities, but their foundation is not to be attributed to the Macedo-

 nian

x. "Ὁ δε Αλεξανδρος ϗ αλλας πολεις εκτισεν, ἡμερας ὁδον απεχουσας της Αλεξανδρειας." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--224.

y Suppoſed to be the modern Lahore.

z "Κὰι πολιν οικισας επ'αυτω παρα τον Ὑδασπην Βουκεφαλιαν προσηγορευσεν· λεγεται δε ϗ κυνα Περιταν ονομα τεθραμμενον ὑπ'αυτου, ϗ ςεργομενον αποβαλων κτισαι πολιν επωνυμον· τουτὸ δε Σοτιων φησιν Ποταμωνος ακουσαι του Λεσβιου." Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--699.

a Stephan. Byzantinus. Αλεξανδρεια·

b Chronic. Alex. Ed. Raderi. 398.

nian Monarch without deliberate examination. Alexander's rapid march, or more correctly ſpeaking, his military journey, would barely have allowed him time to think of ſuch numerous eſtabliſhments, and his army could not poſſibly have ſupplied him with a ſufficiency of inhabitants for theſe infant colonies. The rooted attachment in the Grecian boſom for its native ſoil was likewiſe well known to have kept a long and laſting hold upon it, and the choſen band which had ranged itſelf under the banners of the Younger Cyrus preferred a return to their own country at the riſk of a thouſand perils, to all the advantages, that were offered them by a great and grateful Monarch. Xenophon, their leader, made every effort, but in vain, to induce them to ſettle in Aſia, where an eaſy conqueſt would have fixed them in a ſituation, that muſt ſoon have rendered the eſtabliſhment the moſt flouriſhing and richeſt on the Euxine ſea. The ſoldiers of ſuch a nation would not willingly have renounced the happineſs of reviſiting their country, where the united voices of their families recalled them, and have given up the conſolation of expiring amidſt the embraces of their relations and their friends, which formed in their opinions the laſt, though not leaſt precious, of earthly bleſſings.[c] With theſe

[c] Death, in a ſtrange country, and at a diſtance from every endearing connection, was reckoned by the ancients to be peculiarly diſtreſſing, and the thoughts of it ſharpened the pangs of ſeparation and of exile. The mournful office of cloſing the eyes of their expiring parents, or children, was a duty of religious importance, and wherever it could not be performed, it was feelingly lamented. Penelope offers up a prayer for it.

"Di precor hoc jubeant, ut euntibus ordine Fatis,
Ille meos oculos comprimat, ille tuos."

Ovid. Heroïd. Epiſt. 1.--101. Tom. 1.--13. 4to Amſt. 1727.

And

theſe ſentiments a voluntary exile in the middle of Aſia could not have been expected from them, which at the ſame time expoſed them to inveterate enemies, who were jealous of their proſperity, and conſidered them both as uſurpers of their territories, and their future Tyrants. The improvement of the colony in this precarious ſituation could have been little attended to, and in a ſtate of continual apprehenſions or hoſtilities, where the whole force was requiſite for its defence, few hands could have been ſpared for the cultivation of the ground or the labours of Agriculture.

Commerce ſometimes infuſes a portion of life and vigour into new eſtabliſhments, but it depends on the eaſy and ſecure conveyance of merchandiſe, and a proper medium of barter and exchange. Mutual wants will likewiſe often form an intercourſe between diſtant nations, but if the inhabitants of the cities, ima-

 gined

And afterwards makes uſe of the argument to haſten the return of Ulyſſes to Ithaca.

"Reſpice Laerten: ut jam ſua lumina condas."

Ovid. Heroïd. Epiſt. 1.--113.

Polyxena alſo offers the ſame ſoothing idea to Hecuba in an agony of grief.

"——Και θανοσης ομμα συγκλεισει το σον"

Euripidis Hecuba. 430. Tom. 1.--21. 4to Lipſ. 1778.

In their laſt moments therefore the "Συντροφον ομμα" (Sophoclis Philoctetes. 173. Tom. 2. --367. 4to Paris. 1781.) of their family and friends, an expreſſion that ſets tranſlation at defiance, afforded them the moſt cheering ſatisfaction. Gray hath alluded to the wiſh for it in the Church-yard Elegy: Pope hath bewailed the want of it.

"No friend's complaint, no kind domeſtic tear,
Pleas'd thy pale ghoſt, or grac'd thy mournful bier.
By foreign hands thy dying eyes were clos'd,
By foreign hands thy decent limbs compos'd."

Elegy to an Unfortunate Lady. 49.

gined to have been founded by the Conqueror, were only furniſhed with the common productions of the country from their own ſettlements, they were not likely to be poſſeſſed of many articles of traffic, that could have been an object to their neighbours, and as to their own country, every hope of a ſafe and regular communication between Greece and the Paropamiſus or the banks of the Iaxartes was totally cut off. The number therefore of thoſe towns in all probability ought to be reduced, and many of them, whoſe foundation is not to be doubted, muſt be looked on as Trophies, which were ſoon demoliſhed by the neighbouring nations, or abandoned by their own inhabitants.[d] Some, from their advantageous poſition, were afterwards rebuilt, and their ancient names on their new creation were revived out of reſpect for the memory of the Conqueror of Aſia. Thoſe, which Abulpharagius mentions, ought certainly to be ranked in this claſs, and the ſuppoſition is not perhaps an imaginary one, that the ſucceſſors of Alexander from vanity

[d] "Græci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti Garabactrâ, orta inter ipſos ſeditione, defecerant; non tam Alexandro infenſi, quam metu ſupplicii. Quippe occiſis quibuſdam popularium, qui validiores erant, arma ſpectare cœperunt; et Bactrianâ arce, quæ quaſi negligentius adſervata erat, occupata, barbaros quoque in ſocietatem defectionis impulerant. Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui regis quoque nomen adſumpſerat; non tam imperii cupidine, quam in patriam revertendi cum iis, qui auctoritatem ipſius ſequebantur." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C. 7. Tom. 2.–714, 715.) Dr. Robertſon (Notes on the Hiſt. Diſquiſition concerning India. 193.) hath very ably combated this opinion of the Baron de St. Croix. Yet Cœnus in his ſpeech, which may be found in Arrian at length, lets us without reſerve into the Grecian ſentiments. "Των δε αλλων Ἑλληνων, οἱ μεν εν ταις πολεσι ταις προς σε οικισθεισαις κατωκισμενοι, ουδ' ὑτοι παντη ἑκοντες μενουσιν——————καὶ τουτοις ξυμπασι ποθος μεν γονεων εςιν, ὁσοις ἐτι σωζονται, ποθος δε γυναικων καὶ παιδων, ποθος δε δη της γης αὐτοις της οικειας·" (Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 27. 399, 400.) I ſincerely reſpect and admire Dr. Robertſon's great learning and uncommon talents, and I feel with reluctance the force of Arrian's expreſſions.

vanity or gratitude diſtinguiſhed many of their own foundation with his name.[e]

Man generally communicates his partialities and prejudices to the ſociety of which he is a member. The idea of an illuſtrious origin hath flattered the ambition of individuals, cities, and nations, and they have repeatedly ranſacked the annals of the world to demonſtrate their antiquity, and carry back their hiſtory to a time, in which every thing was loſt in one common and general obſcurity. Many towns from theſe motives have choſen Alexander for their founder, and Smyrna, having no pretenſions to that diſtinction hath contented itſelf with the honour of being reſtored by Alexander,[f] though its title to it, is not confirmed by any cotemporary writer.

But it may be proper to attend to the progreſs of the Macedonian army, which embarked on veſſels conſtructed or collected on the banks of the Hyphaſis, and afterwards dropped down this river to the Indus.[g] Q. Curtius and Diodorus Siculus have equally deceived themſelves in ſuppoſing the Macedonian fleet to have been

[e] See Appian. De Bello Syriac. 201.

[f] Pauſanias however ſtyles Alexander "Της πολεως οικιστης" (Lib. 7.--533.) but Ariſtides ridicules the fable. "Μη γαρ μοι Λυσιμαχον ετι, μηδε Αλεξανδρον αυλον, μηδε Θησεα ϗ μυθους· αλλ' ὑμεις οικισται της πολεως γενεσθε" Orat. Tom. 1.--513. 4to Oxon. 1722.

[g] "Inde Alexander ad amnem Aceſinem pergit: per hanc in oceanum devehitur." Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 9.--327.

been built on the ſhore of the Aceſines,[h] and Alexander to have returned by a retrogade[i] march, as uſeleſs, as contradictory to every other writer. A war followed between the Macedonians and the Malli, and in the attack of one of their towns the Grecian Hero was perſonally expoſed to the fury of an enraged enemy, and the Conqueror of the Eaſt was in imminent danger of periſhing like a common and ordinary adventurer.[k]

Alexander having reached the mouth of the Indus, directed his march towards Gedroſia, without leaving the ſea at any great diſtance,

[h] "The modern Ienaub.

[i] "Μετα πασης της δυναμεως ταις αυταις ὁδοις πορευθεις ανεκαμψεν επι τον Ακεσινην ποταμον· καταλαβων δε τα σκαφα νεναυπηγημενα, κ) ταυτα καταξησας, ἑτερα προσεναυπηγησατο." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--234.) "Repetens quæ emenſus erat, ad flumen Aceſinem locat caſtra——jam in aquâ claſſis, quam ædificari juſſerat, ſtabat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C. 3. Tom. 2.--688, 689.

[k] Plutarch, (Tom. 1.--700.) Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 9, 10.--423---428.) Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--236, 237.) and Q. Curtius (Lib. 9. C. 4, 5. Tom. 2.--700——704.) have given a diffuſive detail of this wonderful inſtance of Alexander's temerity, and ſtill more wonderful eſcape. Juſtin (Lib. 12. C. 9.--328, 329.) hath compreſſed it into a narrower compaſs, but the two Latin hiſtorians have varied the ſcene of this ſingular mixture of raſhneſs and courage. Q. Curtius relates it on the attack of the capital of the Oxydracians, and Lucian, (Dialog. Mort. 14. Sect. 5. Tom. 1.--397.) Appian, (De Bell. Civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--852.) Stephanus Byzantinus, (Οξυδρακοι) and Pauſanias (Lib. 1.--15.) agree with him. It is poſſible the Malli might inhabit a part of Oxydrachia, and the expreſſion of "Τες ομαιχζομενους Μαλλες" may perhaps give ſome little plauſibility to the conjecture, which will then reconcile the different writers, Juſtin excepted. Alexander is ſuppoſed, by this Latin author, to have hurried himſelf into this dangerous combat at the city of the Ambri and Sugambri, but Oroſius, who copied Juſtin, hath boldly transformed theſe people into the Malli and Oxydrachians. The Ambri and Sugambri have hitherto retained with inflexible obſtinacy their ſtation in the text of Juſtin, but the commentators have allowed the reading to be ſpurious.——Major Rennel hath marked, near the banks of the Hydraotes or Rauvee of our times, the probable ſituation of this city.

tance, and paſſed through a country of great extent, which was both barren, uncultivated, and deſtitute of water. Diodorus Siculus after this account of the deſerts, which the Macedonian army traverſed, adds, that Alexander ſeparated his army into three diviſions, and gave orders for the country to be ravaged, which was inſtantly executed, and the troops returned from the general pillage loaden with plunder and beſmeared with the blood of millions of the inhabitants, that they had maſſacred.[l] The reſt of the hiſtorians are ſilent on this ſhameful ſubject.

The Bacchanalian march, however, of the Macedonian army through Carmania hath been admitted without heſitation by many of them,[m] and Arrian hath alone rejected this ſcene of riot and intemperance,

[l] "Diodore apres avoir parle de la pauvreté des Gedroſiens, et des deſerts que traverſerent les troupes Macedonienes, ne craint pas d'avancer qu'Alexandre ayant diviſée ſon armée en trois corps ordonna aux commandants de ces diviſions de ravager ce pays." I have deviated eſſentially from the French ſentence for the purpoſe of reſcuing Diodorus Siculus from at leaſt this charge of inconſiſtency, with which he hath been reproached. It was after the Macedonian army had traverſed theſe extenſive deſerts that the pillage was made on the borders of the Oritæ, according to the Text of Diodorus Siculus, and the term "Ce pays" is not authorized. "Και τȣς Κεδρωσιαν οικȣντας χωρις κινδυνων προς ηγαγετο. Μετα δε ταυτα, πολλην μεν ανυδρον, ȣκ ολιγην δε ερημον διελθων, επι τα Ωριτιδος ὁρια κατηντησεν· εις τρια δε μερη την δυναμιν διελομενος——————εγεμε πας τοπος πυρος ϗ διαρπαγης ϗ πολλων φονων——————ὁι μεν ςρατιωται πολλης λειας εκυριευσαν, των δε αναιρεθεντων σωματων αριθμος εγενετο πολλων μυριαδων." Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--242.

[m] "Αυτον μεν ȣν ἱπποι σχεδην εκομιζον οκτω μετα των ἑταιρων ὑπερ θυμελης εν ὑψηλω ϗ περιφανει· πλαισιω πεπηγυιας, ευωχȣμενον συνεχως ἡμερας ϗ νυκτος· ἁμαξαι δε παμπληθεις, ἁι μεν ἁλȣργοις ϗ ποικιλοις περιβολαιοις, ἁι δε ὑλης αει προσφατȣ ϗ χλωρας οκιαζομεναι κλαδοις, ἑιποντο, τȣς αλλȣς αγȣσαι φιλȣς ϗ ἡγεμονας εςεφανωμενȣς, ϗ πινοντας· ειδης δ'αν ȣ πελτην, ȣ κρανος, ȣ σαρισσαν, αλλα φιαλαις ϗ ρυτοις, ϗ θηρικλειοις παρα την ὁδον ἁπασαν ὁι ςρατιωται βαπτιζοντες, εκ πιθων μεγαλων ϗ κρατηρων αλληλοις

intemperance, as both improbable and abſurd.[n] Neither Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus nor any of the cotemporary writers have mentioned it, and there ſeem to have exiſted ſome phyſical and ſubſtantial reaſons, which lead us to doubt of its reality.—It is not probable that the Macedonian forces, after the exceſſive fatigues of their long and laborious march to Gedroſia, in which they had ſuffered the extremities of hunger and thirſt, and had been reduced ſo very conſiderably by ſickneſs,[o] ſhould have plunged at once into an

αλληλοις προεπινον, οἱ μεν, εν τω προαγειν ἁμα ϗ βαδιζειν, οἱ δε κατακειμενοι· πολλη δε Μουσα συριγγων ϗ αυλων, ωδης τε ϗ ψαλμου ϗ βακχειας γυναικων, κατειχε παντα τοπον." (De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--702.) "Vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coroniſque ſterni jubet: liminibus ædium crateras vino repletos, et alia eximiæ magnitudinis vaſa diſponi: vehicula deinde conſtrata, ut plures capere milites poſſent, in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candidis velis, alia veſte pretioſa. Primi ibunt amici et cohors regia, variis redimita floribus coroniſque, alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyræ ſonus audiebatur: item in vehiculis pro copiâ cujuſque adornatis commeſſabundus exercitus, armis quæ maxime decora erant circumpendentibus. Ipſum convivaſque currus vehebat, crateris aureis ejuſdemque materiæ ingentibus poculis prægravis. Hoc modo per dies ſeptem bacchabundum agmen inceſſit; parta præda, ſi quid victis ſaltem adverſus commeſſantes animi fuiſſet: mille hercule, viri modo et ſobrii, ſeptem dierum crapula graves in ſuo triumpho capere potuerunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 10. Tom. 2.--742, 743.) The reflection that follows is certainly an appoſite one. "Et præſens Ætas et Poſteritas mirata eſt, per gentes nondum ſatis domitas inceſſiſſe temulentos, barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam eſſe credentibus." Whether it may not impeach the credit of the relation may be a queſtion.

n "Ταυτα δε ουτε Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου, ουτε Αριστοβουλος ὁ Αριστοβουλου ανεγραψαν, ουδε τις αλλος ὁντινα ἱκανον αν τις ποιησαιτο τεκμηριωσαι ὑπερ των τοιωνδε· ϗ μοι ὡς ου πιστα αναγεγραφθαι εξηρκεσαν·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 28.--467.

o "Dans la Gedroſie." Theſe exceſſive fatigues, if we are to believe ſome of the Greek and Latin authors, were experienced before the army reached Gedroſia, and on that account I have varied the expreſſion. "Αυτος δε πεζη δι' Ωρειτων πορευομενος, εις εσχατην αποριαν προηχθη, ϗ πληθος ανθρωπων απωλεσεν, ὡστε της μαχιμου δυναμεως μεδε το τεταρτον εκ της Ινδικης απαγαγειν——αλλα ϗ νοσοι χαλεπαι, ϗ διαιται πονηραι, ϗ καυματα ξηρα, ϗ πλειστους ὁλιμος διεφθειρειν——μολις ουν εν ἡμεραις

an exceſs of debauchery, and that a general of Alexander's ability could have either authorized by his example a licentiouſneſs deſtructive of military diſcipline, or even allowed of it, by a weak and impolitic connivance.[p]

Alexander returned with his army into Perſia, and there communicated to the troops his intention of diſcharging the Invalids, which occaſioned a dangerous inſurrection in the Macedonian camp. A ſtroke of authority ſtopped its progreſs, and thirteen of the principal mutineers were inſtantly ſeized and put to death. Alexander then ſhut himſelf up within his tent, excluded the Macedonians, and admitted only the Perſians to his confidence. The experiment was a hazardous one, but it ſucceeded. The Macedonians returned with tears to their duty and obedience; and the Monarch overpowered by the ſenſibility that they diſcovered on a ſenſe of their miſconduct, both pardoned the ferment, and reſtored them to his favour. Ten thouſand Veterans ſoon afterwards

ϛαις ἑξηκοντα ταυτην διελθων, ϗ της Γεδρωσιας ἁψαμενος, ευθυς εν αφθονοις ην πασιν.'" (Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--702.) Q. Curtius hath given a florid deſcription of the diſtreſs of the Macedonian army, which he winds up with "Itaque fame duntaxat vindicatus exercitus, tandem in Gedroſiæ fines perducitur. Omnium rerum ſola fertilis regio eſt, in quâ ſtativa habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmaret." Lib. 9. C. 10. Tom. 2.--740.

[p] That Alexander might have inſtituted ſome feſtival, and introduced ſome ſplendid and triumphal proceſſions is very probable: that he ſhould have marched in ſuch diſorder through an enemy's country is not to be credited. Arrian takes the ground, which Ariſtobulus had occupied before him. "Εκεινα ηδη Αριϛοβυλω ἑπομενος ξυνγραφω, θυσαι εν Καρμανια Αλεξανδρον χαριϛηρια της κατ' Ινδων νικης, ϗ ὑπερ της ϛρατιας ὁτι αποσωθη εκ Γαδρωσιων, ϗ αγωνα διαθειναι μουσικον τε ϗ γυμνικον." Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 28.--463.

wards ſet out for Macedonia, having firſt received their arrears of pay, a ſum to defray the expences of their route, and a talent as a voluntary preſent.[q] Diodorus Siculus relates, that the veterans were diſcharged, had their arrears of pay liquidated, and that the reſt of the army then revolted.[r] But their arrears of pay were firſt diſcharged, the Monarch's generoſity extended not only to that part of his troops but to the whole army, and the mutiny was both diſcovered and put a ſtop to, before the veterans began their march.[s]

Alexander's laſt military exploit was the reduction of the Coſſæans.—Plutarch, in general ſo partial to this Prince, here adopts a recital as falſe, as injurious, to his memory. By way of conſolation on the death of Hephæſtion, he pretends, that the Macedonian Monarch employed himſelf in hunting the Coſſæans like wild beaſts,

[q] Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--704.—Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.--491.—499. Plutarch expreſsly ſtates that there were alſo ſome jealouſies of Alexander's indiſcreet partiality for the foreigners and Perſians in his ſervice. "Παντας αν εκελευον αφιεναι, ϗ παντας αχρηςους νομιζειν Μακεδονας, εχοντα τους νεους τουτους πυρριχιςας, συν οις επιων κατακτησεται την οικουμενην." (Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.) And Arrian mentions ſome other offenſive circumſtances. "Πολλοις ϗ αλλοις αχθεσθεντες, ὁτα πολλακις ηδη ελυπει αυτους ἡ, τε εσθης ἡ Περσικη ες τουτο φερουσα ϗ των Επιγωνων των βαρβαρων τα Μακεδονικα ηθη· κοσμησις ϗ αναμαξις των αλλοφυλων ἱππεων ες τας των ἑταιρων ταξεις" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 8.--492.) Callines afterwards makes a formal complaint upon the ſubject. "Ω βασιλευ, τα λυπουντα ἐςι Μακεδονας, ὁτι συ Περσων μεν τινας ηδη ποιησαι σαυτω συγγενεις, ϗ καλουνται Περσαι συγγενεις Αλεξανδρῳ, ϗ φιλουσι σε· Μακεδονων δε ουπω τις γεγευται ταυτης της τιμης" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 11.--501.

[s] Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--246.

[r] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 5.--485, 486.

beaſts, and in the total deſtruction of that nation, which was ſlaughtered indiſcriminately, and without any diſtinction of age[t] or ſex. Arrian and Diodorus Siculus have ſuppreſſed this ſavage expedition, and for the honour of humanity, it is to be hoped, that it was never realized.

The ſcripture repreſents the Conqueror of Darius as coming from the Weſt, and ſweeping over the ſurface of the earth with a velocity, that excluded the poſſibility of touching[w] it. Nothing indeed is more aſtoniſhing than the rapid marches of the Macedonian Monarch, and, in the words of Monteſquieu,[x] "the Empire of the world ſeemed to be rather the prize of an Olympian race, than the fruit of a great victory.[y]"

Yet it may be queſtioned, if Alexander's hiſtorians have not ſometimes lengthened his marches, and if their accounts are to be received with implicit and unlimited authority. Some obſervations on the meaſures, which were employed, may cloſe with propriety the preſent ſection; and a compariſon of the marches of Alexander with thoſe of the ten thouſand Greeks may poſſibly

 elucidate

[t] "Τȣ δε πενθȣς παρηγορια τω πολεμω χρωμενος, ὡς περ επι θηραν ϗ κυνηγεσιαν ανθρωπων εξηλθεν, ϗ το Κοσσαιον εθνος κατεςρεφετο, παντας ἡβηδον αποσφαττων." Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

[w] "Και ȣκ ην ἁπτομενος τῆς γης." Daniel. C. 8. V. 5.

[x] "Vous croyez voir l'empire de l'univers le prix de la courſe comme dans les jeux de la Grece, que le prix de la victoire." Monteſquieu. De l'Eſprit des Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1. --197, 198.

[y] Nugent's Tranſlation. Book 10. Chap. 14. Vol. 1.--212.

elucidate the ſubject. The ancients undoubtedly employed ſtadia of unequal diſtances, and many learned men[z] have laboured to aſcertain their different extent. De l'Iſle appears to have aſcertained with the greateſt ſucceſs thoſe referred to by the writers of the life of Alexander, and to have proved with accuracy their real length. The difference of longitude between Ecbatana and Aria, according to the Oriental aſtronomers, was eleven degrees and twenty minutes, which are equal to eight degrees and fifty-ſeven minutes of a great circle, allowing for the diminution of the degrees of longitude of the parallel of theſe two cities, and it varies materially from the meaſure of ten thouſand two hundred and ninety ſtadia, which amount to fourteen degrees according to the calculation of Eratoſthenes, and more than twenty on that of Ptolemy. This ſingle difference leads us to conclude, that the ſtadia employed by Alexander's engineers were much ſhorter than thoſe of the later geographers. Ariſtotle's computation of the meaſure of the earth furniſhes a convincing proof of this circumſtance, for he reckons the diſtance of ten thouſand two hundred and ninety ſtadia between Ecbatana and Aria to be equal to nine degrees and ſixteen minutes of a great circle, which only differ nineteen minutes, or three hundred and fifty ſtadia, from the calculation of the Oriental aſtronomers, and they may be eaſily allowed for the curvature of the roads.[a]

Monſieur

[z] See the Memoirs de Guill. de l'Iſle. Academie des Sciences. 1714.—Eſſai ſur les Meſures Itin. Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 19.—Obſervations ſur les Meſures Itin. par Gibert. Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 19.—And Traite des Meſures Itin. par D'Anville.

[a] Recherch. Geograph. ſur l'Etendue de l'Empire d'Alexandre. par Monſ. Buache. Acad. des Sciences. 1731.—117——121.

Monſieur d' Anville [b] hath illuſtrated the marches of the Macedonian army, and lopped off many difficulties, by fixing the ſtadium of Alexander's engineers at fifty toiſes, which has every appearance of probability. Five hundred of the Macedonian cavalry, carrying each a foot ſoldier, marched, according to Arrian, four hundred ſtadia in a night. [c] Employing the Pythian ſtadium of one hundred and twenty-five toiſes, this detachment of cavalry muſt have marched twenty leagues, which could not have been poſſible. Alluding to the ſtadium of fifty toiſes, the march is reduced at once to eight leagues, and becomes in conſequence, not only poſſible, but probable.

The Macedonians, in the purſuit of Satibarzanes, marched in two days ſix hundred ſtadia, [d] amounting to thirty leagues, on the ordinary calculation. By that computation they muſt have marched each day fifteen leagues inſtead of ſix, which the leſſer ſtadium only produces.

Alexander, in his march to Marcanda for the purpoſe of attacking Spitamenes, traverſed one thouſand five hundred ſtadia in three

[b] Traite ſur les Meaſures Itin. 84. The Fractions are omitted.

[c] The French expreſſion is "Dans une partie d'un jour et nuit entiere." Arrian ſays that Alexander began his march in the evening, and ſurpriſed the enemy at the dawn of the next day, and I have not on that account adhered ſo cloſely to the French ſentence. "Αυτος δε αμφι δειλην αγειν αρξαμενος, δρομω ἡγειτο· διελθων δε της νυκτος ςαδιους, ες τετρακοσιους, ὑπο την ἑω προςυγχανει τοις βαρβαροις ατακτως ιουσι καὶ ανοπλοις." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 21.--232.

[d] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 25.--242.

three [e] days. The Pythian ſtadium makes up a diſtance of ſeventy-five leagues, which are reduced to thirty by the ſtadium of fifty toiſes. The Macedonian ſoldiers being very robuſt and accuſtomed to laborious ſervice, might in all likelihood by a forced march traverſe ten leagues each day, ſince the Roman legions in their exerciſes marched often twenty-four miles or eight leagues in a [f] day, as we learn from Vegetius, who wrote in the decline of the Roman diſcipline. [f]

A compariſon alſo of the marches of the younger Cyrus and the ten thouſand Greeks, ſo faithfully deſcribed by Xenophon, with thoſe of the Macedonian Monarch, will again demonſtrate the practibility of thoſe immediately before us.

The troops of the younger Cyrus, in their route to Cunaxa, marched generally five paraſengs [g] before they halted, and ſometimes

[e] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 6.--272.

[f] "Præterea et vetus conſuetudo permanſit, et divi Auguſti atque Hadriani conſtitutionibus præcavetur, ut ter in menſe, tam equites quam pedites, educantur ambulatum; hoc enim verbo, hoc exercitii genus nominant. Decem millia paſſuum armati inſtructique omnibus telis pedites, militari gradu ire, ac redire jubebantur in caſtra." Vegetius. Lib. 1. C. 27.--25. 8vo Veſal. 1670.

[g] I am under ſome embarraſſment for a term that exactly correſponds with the Σταδμος, and I know of no ſingle word in the Engliſh language, that fully meets the Greek idea. The Baron de St. Croix renders it by "Campement," becauſe the troops, where they ſtopped, generally formed a ſpecies of temporary encampment, and Q. Curtius makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion. "Nonis caſtris in regionem Arabitarum, inde totidem diebus in Gedroſiam perventum eſt." (Lib. 9. C. 10. Tom. 2.-737.) Raphelius, the editor of Arrian, obſerves "Σταδμος ab ἱστημι ſto, eſt iter unius dici, quippe

times more, particularly when they croſſed Lydia for the Meander, where they only made three halts in a march of twenty-two [h] paraſengs, reckoning ſeven paraſengs and a third, before each halt. The ſame body of troops arriving at Iconium, a city of Phrygia, marched alſo twenty paraſengs with only three [i] halts, and directing their route to the left of the Euphrates, they even marched thirty-five paraſengs with only five [k] halts.

The marches of the ten thouſand Greeks, in their retreat after the battle of Cunaxa, differ little from thoſe, which they went through, under the orders of the younger Cyrus. Sometimes they were ſhorter on account of the difficulty of the roads, but at others, they were very long, as they marched thirty paraſengs with only five halts, in the territories of the Taochians; [l] and when they croſſed the country of the Chalybians, who hung upon their rear, and continually harraſſed them, even fifty paraſengs were paſſed with only ſeven halts. [m]

Xenophon.

quippe quo confecto agmen ſubſiſtit, ut fatigata corpora quiete leventur." (Ad Σταθμὸν τρεις. Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 2.--12.) I am not ſatisfied, I confeſs, with the expreſſion that I have introduced, but I yet flatter myſelf its meaning is not widely different. Heſychius and Suidas have defined the "Σταθμὸν, στρατιωτικη καταλυσις," which is ſubſtantially the ſame.

[h] Xenophon. Exped. Cyri. Lib. 1.--9.

[i] ——————— Lib. 1.--17.

[k] ——————— Lib. 1.--45.

[l] ——————— Lib. 4.--328, 329.

[m] ——————— Lib. 4.--334.

Xenophon, according to Monsr d'Anville, alludes to a paraſeng of two thouſand two hundred and ſixty-eight [n] toiſes, which excluſive of a fraction, amount to forty-five ſtadia. The ten thouſand Greeks marched therefore before their halts, two hundred and twenty-ſix, two hundred and ſeventy-two, three hundred and ſeventeen, and even ſometimes, three hundred and ſeventy ſtadia, and conſequently their marches equalled the longeſt of the Macedonian army. There is even reaſon to believe, that the ten thouſand Greeks marched beyond many of theſe uſual halts, in a day; and the Greek term, which Xenophon makes uſe of, does not ſignify any given ſpace which the troops marched in a day, but ſimply the repoſe allotted to them after having marched a certain diſtance. Diodorus Siculus relates, that Demetrius the ſon of Antigone having received intelligence that Ptolemy had invaded the iſland of Cyprus, and made an irruption into Cilicia paſſed twenty-four of theſe uſual halts in ſix [o] days; and Arrian aſſures us, that Ptolemy in the purſuit of Beſſus reached ten of them in four days. [p] If the ten thouſand Greeks paſſed many of them in a day, we may reaſonably conclude, that their marches ſurpaſſed thoſe of Alexander, which were meaſured ſo exactly by Diognetus and Beton, the Prince's ſurveyors. Beton had particularly deſcribed them in a work, from which Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny,

[n] Traite ſur les Meſures. Itin. 95.

[o] "Διέλειπε γαρ απο Μαλλε, ἑξ ἡμερας ϛαθμες εικοσι καὶ τεσσαρας." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19. Tom. 2.--381.

[p] "Εν ἡμεραις τεσσαρσι ϛαθμες δεκα." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 29.--252.

Pliny,[q] borrowed very liberally.—Reflecting on the rapid marches of Ghengis Khan, and thoſe of the Patans and Marattas,[r] all the marvellous in Alexander's expeditions vaniſhes at once, and there remains no longer any plauſible pretence of attacking their poſſibility. "Our ſcepticiſm will not be ſufficient" as Fontenelle judiciouſly obſerves, "if we doubt only of theſe extraordinary facts, we ſhould doubt even if they were as extraordinary as they appear[s] to be."

[q] See Athenæus. Lib. 10. Tom. 1.--441.—And Caſaubon's Obſervations on the paſſage.

[r] In our times the motions of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib's cavalry have been equally rapid. Detachments of them, when they were ſuppoſed to be at a conſiderable diſtance, have inſtantaneouſly appeared, and afterwards retreated with the ſame celerity.

[s] "Ce n'eſt pas entendre aſſez bien le Pyrrhoniſme, que de douter des faits extraordinaires, il faut aller juſqu'a douter qu'ils ſoient auſſi extraordinaires qu'ils le paroiſſent."——L'extrait du Mem. de M[r] de Liſle ſur les Mes. Geograph. des Anciens. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences. 1714.

END OF THE SECOND SECTION.

SECTION. III.

AN exact knowledge of Alexander's character can only be acquired by entering minutely into both his public and private life. The diſcuſſion will aſcertain the degree of cenſure or approbation, that his diſpoſition, his virtues and his vices ſeverally merit, which will be determinate and certain, as it will be founded on the fixed and unerring rules of juſtice, the principle of all the virtues according to Ariſtotle,[a] or at leaſt including them. It is not in the power of caprice to abrogate her laws: the moſt ingenious ſophiſtry cannot obſcure them. The philoſopher is their interpreter, and there is an appeal to his impartial tribunal from the world at large, which is frequently actuated by paſſions, ſometimes influenced by its partialities, and ſometimes warped by its prejudices.

That

[a] "Και δια τετο πολλακις κρατιςη των αρετων ειναι δοκει ἡ Δικαιοσυνη· κ᾽ ȣδ᾽ ἑσπερος, ȣδ᾽ ἑως, ὑτω θαυμας ός· κ᾽ παροιμιαζομενοι φαμεν

Εν δε Δικαιοσυνη συλληβδην πασ᾽ αρετη ςι·"

Theognis. 147.

"Και τελεια μαλιςα αρετη, ὁτι της τελειας αρετης χρησις ες ι·" De Moribus. Lib. 5. C. 3. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 3.--77. Folio. Paris. 1654.

That intellectual and internal virtue, without which the mind hath no valuable powers, and man is incapable either of commanding or conducting himſelf,[b] is in fact but ſtrict and eſſential juſtice. It was thus that Plato[c] taught, when he refuted, under the borrowed name of Socrates, the ſtrange maxims of Thraſymachus, which, in defiance of the virtuous efforts of philoſophers in every age, have been unfortunately adopted by princes either vicious in themſelves, or corrupted by long and continued ſucceſs. —With the latter poſſibly Alexander is to be claſſed.—By a ſcrupulous and careful attention to the chronological order of events, we may perceive the variations in his character and conduct, and the gradual progreſs of his corruption will appear as diſtinctly marked, as the events from which it flowed. Proſperity had a fatal influence on the Macedonian Monarch's heart, and the regular and uninterrupted ſeries of his conqueſts gave birth to a crowd of vices, which were foſtered by flattery, and almoſt juſtified by the uncommon baſeneſs of his paraſites and minions.

Alexander was born almoſt immediately after Elpines became the Athenian Archon, in the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad, and

[b] "Αρ' ὂν ποτε, ω Θρασυμαχε, ψυχη τα αυτης εργα ευ απεργασεῖαι, στερομενη της οικειας αρετης; η αδυνατον; Αδυνατον" Plato. De Republicâ. Lib. 1. Platonis Opera. Tom. 2.--353. Folio. Paris. 1578.

[c] "Φημι γαρ εγω ειναι το δικαιον ουκ αλλο τι η το τω κρειττονῶ ξυμφερον." Plato. De Republicâ. Lib. 1. Platonis Opera. Tom. 2.--338.

the certainty of the fact is demonstrated by the cotemporary occurrences, which Plutarch mentions.[d]

Philip did not overlook any thing necessary for his Son, and gave him an education every way suitable to his birth and station. Leonides, a relation of Olympias, whose rigid austerity of morals was remarkable and well known, directed the education of the young Prince, but Lysimachus the Acarnanian was appointed his preceptor, and he found out the method of captivating both the Father and the Son by the grossest adulation. He gave the name of Achilles to his Royal pupil, that of Peleus to Philip, and had the assurance to apply that of Phœnix to himself,[e] We may rest assured that the young Prince's mind suffered under such a tutor, and it may be reasonably presumed, that the seeds of those vices were then sown in it, which in maturer life grew up, and threw a sickly shade over the splendid actions, from which he would otherwise

[d] "Εγενηθη δε ȣν Αλεξανδρȣ ἱςαμενȣ μηνȣ Ἑκατομβαιωνȣ, ὁν Μακεδονες Λωον καλȣσιν, ἑκτη καθ'ἡν ἡμεραν ὁ της Εφεσιας Αρτεμιδȣ ενεπρησθη νεως·——————Φιλιππω δε αρτι Ποτιδαιαν ἡρηκοτι τρεις ἡκον αγγελιαι κατα τον αυτον χρονον· ἡ μεν, Ιλλυριȣς ἡττασθαι μαχη μεγαλη δια Παρμενιωνȣ· ἡ δε, Ολυμπιασιν ἱππω κελητι νενικηκεναι· τριτη δε, περι της Αλεξανδρȣ γενεσεως·" Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--665, 666.

[e] If we are to believe Plutarch, he had no other merit. "Αλλο μεν ȣδεν εχων αςειον, ὁτι δ'ἑαυτον μεν ονομαζεν Φοινικα, τον δε Αλεξανδρον, Αχιλλεα, Πηλεα δε, τον Φιλιππον, ηγαπατο, κ̀ δευτερον ειχε χωραν·" (De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--667.) The rays of Royal bounty have been frequently directed on worthless and improper objects; but history scarcely furnishes another instance of a Favourite, that rose into employment on such pretensions.

wiſe have derived ſuch immortal honour. Quintilian[f] unjuſtly accuſes Leonides, on the faith of Diogenes of Babylon, with the corruption of Alexander's mind; but he confounds the reſpectable Leonides with Lyſimachus, and improperly terms him the pedagogue. Leonides had conſtantly refuſed the office of preceptor, as we learn from Plutarch, whoſe expreſſion[g] may have deceived the learned Rhetorician, and occaſioned his reference of the lectures of Lyſimachus to Leonides, which undoubtedly obſtructed Ariſtotle's more virtuous ſyſtem. This great man was called by Philip to give leſſons to his Son, under the magiſtracy of Pythodotus, in the ſecond year of the 109th Olympiad, and the Monarch warmly exhorted him to attend to the inſtructions of ſuch an able maſter, with the forcible admonition of avoiding, from his counſels, the errors of which he ſeriouſly repented.[h] ——Memorable words! which truth hath ſometimes forced from the lips of princes and of kings, in thoſe laſt and awful moments of exiſtence, when pride and vanity ſink into humiliation, and flattery itſelf, having no longer any hopes, is ſilent.

Alexander

f "Leonides Alexandri pedagogus, ut a Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibuſdam eum vitiis imbuit, quæ robuſtum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illâ inſtitutione puerili ſunt proſecuta."
Quint. Inſt. Orat. Lib. 1. C. 1.--7. Ed. Geſner. 4to Gotting. 1738.

g Some of the editors of Plutarch read "Αυτῷ μεν ὁ φευγων το της Παιδαγωγιας ονομα," but the "Μεν ων φευγων" of the Francfort edition, Folio, 1620, appears to be the true reading.
De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--667.

h "Ἐκελευσε δ' αυτον Ἀριστοτελει προσεχειν, καὶ φιλοσοφειν, Ὅπως (εφη) μη πολλα τοιαυτα πραξῃς ἐφ' οἷς ἐγω πεπραγμενοις μεταμελομαι." Apothegm. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--178.

Alexander was then in his thirteenth year, and not the fifteenth, as Diogenes Laertius hath ſuppoſed, [i] who prolongs by his calculation the life of Alexander ſomewhat above two years. The Son of Philip was initiated into all the ſciences, and ran through the circle of human knowledge under Ariſtotle's care. After a reſidence of eight years [k] at the court of Macedon, which Juſtin hath reduced to five, [l] the philoſopher retiring to Athens, when Evenætus was Archon, parted with his Royal pupil to meet no more, though he ſurvived him ſome years. [m]

In all probability the young Prince, agreeable to Plutarch's opinion,

[i] "Επι Πυθοδοτου δ'ελθειν τους Φιλιππον, τω δευτερω ετει της ενατης και εκατοστης Ολυμπιαδος, Αλεξανδρου πεντεκαιδεκα ετη ηδη γεγονοτος." Diog. Laert. Lib. 5. Segm. 10. Tom. 1.--274. Ed. Meibomii. 4to Amſt. 1709.

[k] Apres avoir demeuré à la cour de Macedoine pendant dix-huit anneés." "Προς Φιλιππον ηρχετο, κατα Πυθοδοτον Αρχοντα, και διετριψε χρονον οκτα ετη παρ αυτω καθηγεμων Αλεξανδρου." (Dion. Halicar. Epiſt. ad Amm. Tom. 6.--728.) Theſe eight years are unaccountably magnified into eighteen.

[l] "Exactâ puritiâ, per quinquennium ſub Ariſtotele doctore inclyto omnium philoſophorum, crevit." (Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 16.--346.) Diogenes Laertius alſo ſuppoſes Ariſtotle to have reſided eight years at the Court of Macedon, as he came there in the ſecond year of the 109th Olympiad, and quitted it, "Εις δ'Αθηνας αφικεσθαι τω δευτερω ετει της ενδεκατης και εκατοστης Ολυμπιαδος." Diog. Laert. Lib. 5. Segm. 10. Tom. 1.--274.

[m] "Le philoſophe ne revit plus ſon diſciple, et lui ſurvêcut peu de tems." The Baron de St. Croix obſerves, in a note upon this paſſage, "Denys d'Halicarnaſſe——fait mourir ce philoſophe ſous l'Archonte Cephiſodore la treizieme anneé après ſa retraite de la cour de Macedoine." I truſt the "Τω δε τρισκαιδεκατω μετα την Αλεξανδρου ΤΗΛΕΥΤΗΝ, επι Κηφισοδωρου αρχοντος, απειρας εις Χαλκιδα, νοσω τελευτα, τρια παρος εξηκοντα βιωσας ετη." (Dion. Hal. Epiſt. ad Amm. Tom. 6.--728.) will warrant the deviation, for which I am reſponſible.

opinion,[n] received lectures in politics and in morality from Ariſtotle, and was alſo introduced into the profound ſanctuary of the Acroatic and Epoptic[o] doctrines, where perſons were not uſually allowed to penetrate. The Greek hiſtorian produces, as a proof of his opinion, a letter[p] written by Alexander to Ariſtotle, in which he laments the publication of his Acroatic works[q] with a jealouſy, unworthy of a perſon of any genius, and more particularly a Sovereign. Can we poſſibly believe that the philoſopher ſtooped to the meanneſs of aſſuring him, that the work in queſtion would not be underſtood, except by a few adepts,[r] and that he

[n] "Εοικεν δε Αλεξανδρῳ ὁ μονον του ηθικου καὶ πολιτικου παραλαβειν λογον, αλλα καὶ των αποῤῥητων καὶ βαθυτερων διδασκαλιων, ἃς οἱ ανδρες ἰδιως ακροαματικας καὶ εποπτικας προσαγορευοντες, ουκ εξεφερον εις πολλες, μετασχειν." Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

[o] The myſterious language of initiation, hath been extremely well explained by Salmaſius, in his notes added to the commentary of Simplicius, upon Epictetus. 14.

[p] The following is ſuppoſed to have been the laconic epiſtle.

"ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ·

Ουκ ορθως εποιησας, εκδους τους ακροαματικους των λογων· τινι γαρ δη διοισομεν ἡμεις των αλλων, ει καθ' ους επαιδευθημεν λογους, ὁτοι παντων εσονται κοινοι; εγω δε βουλοιμην αν ταις περι τα αριστα εμπειριαις, η ταις δυναμεσι διαφερειν· ἐρρωσο·" Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

[q] Salmaſius hath diſcuſſed with great learning, the Acroatic and Epoptic doctrines in the notes on Simplicius juſt referred to; (226——244.) and the editors of the new Deux-ponts edition of Ariſtotle in 8vo have very ingeniouſly given an epitome of them, which may be conſulted with advantage.

[r] "Την φιλοτιμιαν αυτου παραμυθουμενος Αριστοτελης, απολογειται περι των λογων εκεινων, ὡς εκδεδομενων καὶ μη εκδεδομενων· αληθως γαρ, ἡ μετα τα φυσικα πραγματεια, προς διδασκαλιαν καὶ μαθησιν ουδεν εχουσα χρησιμον, ὑποδειγμα——τοις πεπαιδευμενοις απ' αρχης γεγραπται·". (Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.) Aulus Gellius hath preſerved the ſuppoſed conciſe anſwer, of the Peripatetic philoſopher, in which, as he remarks, there is the ſame "Brevitatis elegantiſſimæ filus tenuiſſimus."

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he might be therefore eaſy on the ſubject. An anſwer of this kind would ſink Ariſtotle in the general eſteem, and ſome juſtice is due to his injured reputation. In the dedication of his rhetoric to his Royal pupil,[1] he mentions the Prince's requeſt that he would not communicate the work to any other perſon, as he wiſhed alone to enjoy the advantage of it. The philoſopher, in reply, informs the Prince, that authors had a ſort of parental fondneſs for their works, and were not like the ſophiſts, who ſeldom were at the trouble of any compoſitions, and ſatisfied themſelves with the ſtipends from their ſcholars, whom they quitted without regret, and for whom they had no attachments. Ariſtotle concludes with an exhortation to Alexander to guard the precepts which were not ſullied by venality, and would contribute to his future happineſs and honour, whilſt in their turn they would derive no inconſiderable ſhare of luſtre from his patronage. The philoſopher thus artfully inſinuates, that from a parental ſpecies of regard for his works, he took a pride in their publication, and that, excluſive of ſuch motives, it was a duty, which he owed to his diſciples. In the end, he hints to the Prince with great addreſs, that he ought rather to profit by ſuch uſeful and diſintereſted maxims, than envy the public in general a knowledge of them. To ſoften

"ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ·

Εγραψας μοι περι των ακροατικων λογων, οιομενω δειν αυτους φυλαττειν εν απορρητοις· ισθι ουν αυτους ἡ εκδεδομενους, ἡ μη εκδεδομενους· ξυνεσι γαρ εισι μονοις τοις ἡμων ακουσασιν· ερρωσο." Aul. Gell. Lib. 20. C. 5.--877. Edit. Gronov. 4to L. B. 1709.

[1] "Εγραψας δε μοι διακελευομενω ὁπως μηδεις των λοιπων ανθρωπων λαβηται του βιβλιου τουτου"

Rhet. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 3.--833.

ſoften the unpleaſant part of the reply, he adds the compliment of ſuppoſing the Prince's notice of the precepts would be a ſtrong recommendation in their favour, and that their reputation would be fully eſtabliſhed by the honour of his adoption of them. Inſtead of approving of the little jealouſy and ſelf-intereſted views of Alexander, the maſter of the Lyceum excited his pupil to more generous actions, and encouraged him to diffuſe, as far as he was able, the knowledge with which he was acquainted. Addreſſing alſo his treatiſe of the world to Alexander, this great man added, "*I conſider it as highly glorious in you, who are one of the greateſt of Monarchs, to turn your mind to the ſtudy of thoſe ſublime truths, which hiſtory and philoſophy preſent to you, and to encourage the great men of your court to excel in all thoſe things, wherein you have ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed yourſelf!*"[w]

We may reaſonably conceive Ariſtotle's anſwer was conveyed in terms of the ſame generous import, inſtead of the outrage to his memory, which hath been tranſmitted to poſterity. But this imaginary letter, and thoſe alſo at the end of his works, in which he exhorts Alexander to govern his ſubjects with lenity, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his virtues, are certainly of very dubious authority.

[v] "Ὅπως νεοι καθεζοτες ὑπο μηδενῶ χρημασι διαφθαρησονται· κοσμιως δε μετα σε συμβαωσαντες εις ἡλικιαν ελθοντες·" (Rhet. ad Alex. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 3.–833.) Advice worthy of the ſage who dictated it.

[w] "Πρεπειν δε οιμαι γε σοι ἡγεμονων ὀντι αριςω, την των μεγιςων ἱςοριαν μετιεναι, φιλοσοφια τε μηδεν μικρον επινοειν, αλλα τοις ταυτης δωροις δεξιωσθαι τους αριςους." De Mundo. C. 1. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 1.–846.

The author of the treatiſe on elocution, falſely attributed to Demetrius Phalereus,[x] ſeems to intimate, that Ariſtotle's letters were written in a ſuperior ſtyle, and reſembled dialogues and diſſertations. That, at preſent under conſideration, hath no characteriſtic of this kind either in form or matter, and as Artemon had made a collection of them, which the rhetorician alludes to, if this pretended letter of the Peripatetic philoſopher had been of the number, there can be no doubt, but he would have expreſſed himſelf very differently concerning them.——Some later Sophiſt, having read the preface to Alexander's rhetoric, perhaps fabricated both Alexander's letter, which is at preſent the ſubject of obſervation, and the anſwer to it. The writers of Pergamus and of Alexandria are well known to have been the authors of various works, which they paſſed upon the public as productions of the Ancients,[y] and it is very probable, that Andronicus Rhodius, of the Peripatetic ſect, who lived in the 180th Olympiad, and about 60 years before Chriſt, ſelected from them theſe forged letters of Alexander and his ancient maſter,[z] which were afterwards haſtily adopted by Aulus Gellius, and Plutarch. Alexander's letter indeed, as it correſponds with the general tenour of Ariſtotle's

[x] "Αρτεμων μεν ουν, ὁ τας Αριστοτελους αναγραψας επιστολας φησιν, ὁτι δει εν τω αυτω τροπω, διαλογον τε γραφειν καὶ επιστολας· ειναι γαρ την επιστολην, διον το ἑτερον μερος τε διαλογε'" Demet. Phalereus. Sect. 231.

[y] Galen. De Hippocrat. Nat. Hom.

[z] "Exempla utrarumque literarum, ſumpta ex Andronici philoſophi libro ſubdidi." Aulus Gellius. Lib. 20. C. 5.--877.

Ariſtotle's expreſſions, may be allowed, though forged, to contain the Macedonian Monarch's ſentiments; but his virtuous Preceptor had never diſgraced himſelf by any proſtitution of his principles, notwithſtanding the ſhameful accuſations of Tertullian.[a]

The illuſtrious philoſopher inſpired his diſciple with a ſtrong partiality for Homer, whoſe beauties he explained to him, whilſt at the ſame time he enlarged upon the morality, which lent new charms to the harmony of verſe.[b] Alexander retained the whole Iliad by memory, and a great part of the Odyſſey, and frequently repeated different paſſages from theſe two poems.[c] He ſhewed alſo his diſcernment in the preference, which he gave as a Sovereign to Homer, in compariſon of Heſiod, whoſe works he thought more particularly calculated for paſtoral and rural life.[d] Under Alexander's pillow not only the Iliad of Homer was diſcovered, but even the Eunides of Cratinus,[e] a celebrated comic poet.

[a] "Ariſtoteles tam indecore Alexandro regendo potius adulatur, quam Plato Dionyſio ventris gratiâ venditatur." (Tertullian. Apologet. C. 46.--393. Ed. L. B. 8vo 1718.) The Baron de St. Croix obſerves that Tertullian, in his apology for Chriſtianity, hath tried, condemned, and executed all the great men of antiquity.——The African Preſbyter had certainly ſome of the fire of the climate in his conſtitution, and his zeal may have carried him farther than might be wiſhed; but allowances are to be made for the times, in which he wrote, and the perſecutions, under which the Chriſtian church was then ſmarting.

[b] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 11. De Regno paſſim.

[c] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 4. De Regno.—Dialog. Mortuorum. 12. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1. --384.

[d] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 11. De Regno.

[e] Ptolem. Hephæſtion. Apud Hiſt. Poet. Scriptores. 326.

Harpalus had alſo a commiſſion from the young Prince to ſend him the works of Philiſtus, the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, and the Dithyramblic works of Teleſtis and Philoxenus, Books being very ſcarce in the ſouthern provinces of Greece.[f]

The Macedonian Monarch took great pleaſure in tragical repreſentations, and Athenodorus, in his preſence, diſputed with Theſſalus the ſuperiority of their theatrical talents. The latter having been the unſucceſsful candidate for popular applauſe, the young Prince endeavoured to conſole him, and paid him the flattering compliment, that he would rather have loſt a part of his dominions, than Theſſalus ſhould have been worſted.[g] As far as we can judge from a circumſtance related by Athenæus, Alexander had not the ſame reliſh for comedy. Antiphanes, a comic writer of eminence, reading one day to him one of his pieces, and obſerving that the Prince was very inattentive to it, took the liberty of telling him, "that to enter into the ſpirit of ſuch performances, a little acquaintance with comic life was neceſſary, and that he would have enjoyed their beauties, if he had often formed one of thoſe parties, where a free currency of witticiſms paſſed without reſtraint."[h] Yet this want of taſte for comedy had no effect on his uſual

[f] "Των δε αλλων βιβλιων εκ ευπορων εν τοις ανω τοποις, Αρπαλον εκελευσε πεμψαι· κακειν@ επεμψεν αυτω τας τε Φιλιςε βιβλους, κ᾽ των Ευριπιδε κ᾽ Σοφοκλεους κ᾽ Αισχυλε τραγωδιων συχνας, κ᾽ Τελεςε κ᾽ Φιλοξενε διθυραμβους·" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

[g] "Επει δε ενικησεν Αθηνοδορ@, Εβουλομην αν, εφη, μαλλον απολωλεναι μερ@ της βασιλειας, η Θετταλον επιδειν ηττημενον·" De Fort. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--334.

[h] "Δει γαρ εφησεν, ω βασιλευ, τον ταυτα αποδεχομενον απο συμβολων τε πολλακις δεδειπνηκεναι· κ᾽ περι

uſual liberality, and Lycon of Scarphia, having artfully interwoven in one of his pieces ſome verſes, in expectation of a gratuity, Alexander with a ſmile at his addreſs, ordered him ten talents.[i] This generoſity notwithſtanding ought to have had its bounds, and ſhould not have been ſhowered down with the profuſion upon Chœrilus, which Horace hath cenſured, though he ſeems to have exaggerated the anecdote.[k]—The agreement, which the Macedonian Monarch made with him, was certainly a ſingular one, and Chœrilus was to receive for every good verſe, a piece of gold, with a box upon the ear, for every bad one; but for his conſolation many modern poets, on the ſame terms, might have been expoſed to a repetition of the puniſhment, without any recompence. Alexander was, however, aware of the mediocrity of Chœrilus, and he frequently declared he would have preferred being the Therſites of Homer to the Achilles of his own poet.[l]

With

περὶ ἑταίρας πολεονάκις καὶ εἰληφέναι καὶ δεδωκέναι πλήγας" (Athenæus. Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--555.) The miſtreſs and the harlot made their appearance very frequently on the old comic ſtage, with both the Greek and Latin authors, and even the pruriencies of the Britiſh Drama were not effectually reſtrained at the opening of the preſent century. Antiphanes, from whom the anecdote is taken, was the author of no leſs than 260, or 365 comedies according to others. Fabricius, with perſevering induſtry, hath given a liſt of them. Fabricii Biblioth. Græca. Tom. 1.--742——744.

[i] De Fort. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--334.

[k] "Gratus Alexandro Regi Magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui verſibus et male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos."
Horat. Epiſt. Lib. 1. 8.--232——234.

[l] "Chœrilus poeta fuit, qui Alexandrum Magnum ſecutus, bella ejuſdem deſcripſit: cui Alexander

With theſe ideas, it may be aſked, how the Macedonian Monarch could have retained at his court both Chœrilus, Agis of Argos,[m] Cleo of Sicily, and many others of the moſt wretched poetaſters in the Grecian cities.——Their deſpicable abilities could not have recommended them to his protection, but having wormed themſelves into favour by the baſeſt adulation, they had corrupted his heart, without being able to ſeduce his underſtanding.——Few perſons of a liberal education are ignorant of the freedom of Diogenes with Alexander, but the Prince could not help admiring the ſarcaſtic boldneſs of the Cynic. Dion. Chryſoſtom[n] hath given the converſation of theſe two celebrated Perſonages, where the characters of the ſpeakers in the dialogue are very well preſerved, though we may wiſh the pleaſantry, on Alexander's father Ammon, had been omitted,[o] as he did not pretend to paſs for the ſon of this Deity before the Lybian expedition, which was long after this interview.

The Royal munificence, with which Alexander encouraged the labours

ander dixiſſe fertur, malle ſe Therſitem Homeri eſſe, quam hujus Achillem." Acro ad Horatii Art. Poet. V. 357.

[m] "Agis quidam Argivus peſſimorum carminum poſt Chœrilum conditor, et ex Siciliâ Cleo; hic quidem non ingenii ſolum, ſed etiam nationis vitio adulator; et cetera urbium ſuarum purgamenta, quæ propinquis etiam maximorumque exercituum ducibus a rege præferebantur." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 5. Tom. 2.--594.) The Latin hiſtorian could not have divined a ſtronger expreſſion than the "Purgamenta."

[n] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. De Regno. 4.

[o] Lucian hath avoided the dilemma, by laying the ſcene in the ſhades after Alexander's death. Dial. Mort. 13. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1.--389——394.

labours of Ariſtotle,[p] ought to inſure him the gratitude of men of letters, but his bounty was alſo extended to Xenocrates. A very conſiderable ſum was remitted to this philoſopher for his immediate wants, which Plutarch fixes at fifty talents;[q] and for the honour of Xenocrates, the Greek hiſtorian ſhould have added, that he only accepted of thirty minæ.[r]——Pyrrho received of Alexander, according to Sextus Empyricus[s] ten thouſand pieces of gold for a poem in the Conqueror's praiſe. This dubious fact however is refuted by the joint teſtimony of Ariſtocles and Diogenes

[p] "La magnificence vraiment royale, avec laquelle Alexandre encouragea les travaux d'Ariſtote, devroit ſeule lui meriter la reconnaiſſance des gens de lettres." I could have wiſhed that the Baron de St. Croix had ſpecified ſome of theſe acts of Royal magnificence, but not one ſingle inſtance is referred to. In the life of Ariſtotle by Ammonius, we meet with the following paſſage. "Ὁ δε γε Αριστοτελης ερχεται εν τη των Μακεδονων πολει, ενθα παιδευει Αλεξανδρον το Κτισην, κ᾽ μεγα μερος γεγονε της τοτε βασιλειας πολλα γαρ εδυνηθη παρα τω βασιλει" but the only favour, I believe, on record, which he received, was that mentioned, ſo much to his honour by Plutarch, and conferred upon him by Philip. "Μετεπεμψατο των Φιλοσοφων τον ενδοξοτατον κ᾽ λογιωτατον, Αριστοτελην, καλα κ᾽ πρεποντα διδασκαλια τελευσας αυτω· την γαρ Σταγειριτων πολιν, εξ ης ην Αριστοτελης, αναστατον ὑπ᾽ αυτου γεγενεμενην, συνωκισε παλιν, κ᾽ τους διαφυγοντας η δουλευοντας των πολιτων αποκατεστησεν" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.) Alexander's Royal munificence reſpecting the philoſopher is therefore very problematical, and in the latter part of their lives, even every friendly intercourſe ſeems to have vaniſhed.

[q] De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

[r] Plutarch in his Apothegms hath notwithſtanding mentioned the philoſopher's refuſal of the fifty talents: "Ὡς ουκ εδεξατο, μη δεισθαι φησας" (Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--181.) And Diogenes Laertius relates the circumſtance with the philoſopher's obſervation: Αλεξανδρος γαν κ᾽ συχνον αργυριον αποστειλαντος αυτω, τεσσαρακοντα Ατθικας αφελων, το λοιπον απεπεμψεν, ειπων ΕΚΕΙΝΩ ΠΑΕΙΟΝΩΝ ΔΕΙΝ ΠΑΕΙΟΝΑΣ ΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΙ." Diog. Laert. Lib. 4. Segm. 8. Tom. 1.--232.

[s] Sextus Empyricus, adverſus Grammat. Ed. Fabricii. 278.

genes Laertius,[t] who aſſure us this Sceptic philoſopher neither left any work behind him, nor ever wrote any.

Dandamis and Calanus[w] the celebrated Indian Gymnoſophiſts, were alſo treated in a diſtinguiſhed manner by the Macedonian Monarch, and the latter had very magnificent funeral obſequies beſtowed on him. Calliſthenes, Oneſicritus, and Anaxarchus, enjoyed likewiſe Alexander's perſonal favour, and were honoured with many marks of his friendſhip and benevolence. Calliſthenes indeed forfeited them, as will be mentioned afterwards, but Oneſicritus and Anaxarchus continued to preſerve their influence by the moſt ignominious flattery. Suppoſing they could not ſufficiently diſcharge by any other method their debt of gratitude, they failed in the duties, that truth impoſes upon every writer, in compariſon of which every other obligation ceaſes.[x]

The arts and ſciences, when Alexander began to reign, flouriſhed in Greece, and its tranquillity, which continued undiſturbed during

[t] "Οι δ'ὁλως ε συνεγραψαν, ὡσπερ κατα τινας, Σωκρατης, Στιλπων, Φιλιππος, Μενεδημ& Πορφων" Diog. Laert. Procemium Segm. 16. Tom. 1.--11.—See alſo Ariſtonic. apud Euſeb. Præpatat. Evangel. 718.

[w] Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

[x] Intellectual ſlavery, which fetters the freedom of the mind, is aſſuredly of every ſpecies of ſubjection, the moſt cruel and ſevere. Quintilian obſerves with ſpirit, "Nihil eſt periculoſius acceptis beneficiis, ſi in omnem nos adligant ſervitutem," (Declam. 333.--687. 4to L. B. 1720.) and Man muſt be indeed a degraded being that can accept of ſuch ſervices with ſuch chains.

during the whole courſe of his conqueſts, contributed greatly towards the perfection of the public taſte.[y] Artiſts of great talents in every denomination were encouraged by rewards, and the choice, which the Macedonian Monarch made of Lyſippus, Pyrgoteles, and of Apelles, is well known.[z] The manner in which he received Dinocrates, an eminent Macedonian architect,[a] proves that he found a pleaſure in extending his protection to perſons of abilities, though in the rejection of the architect's abſurd deſign of cutting mount Atlas into a Coloſſal ſtatue to repreſent him, he diſcovered his own good ſenſe and the greatneſs of his mind.[b] A weaker underſtanding, as Lucian[c] hath obſerved, might have been tempted by the offer, and would not have poſſeſſed perhaps ſufficient

 reſolution

[y] See upon this ſubject, Winkelman Hiſt. de l'Art. Tom. 2.—who hath entered into it with the warmth and minuteneſs of a connoiſſeur.

[z] "Imperator edixit, ne quis ipſum alius, quam Apelles, pingeret: quam Pyrgoteles ſculperet: quam Lyſippus ex ære duceret." Plinii Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 7. C. 37. Tom. 2.--59, 60.

[a] "Dinocrates architectus pluribus modis memorabili ingenio." (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--561.) Plutarch gives him the name of Staſicrates.

[b] "Athon montem formavi in ſtatuæ virilis figuram, cujus manu lævâ deſignavi civitatis ampliſſimæ mænia, dextrâ pateram, quæ exciperet omnium fluminum, quæ ſunt in illo monte, aquam, ut inde in mare profunderetur. Delectatus Alexander ratione formæ ſtatim quæſivit, ſi eſſent agri circa, qui poſſent frumentaria ratione civitatem tueri. Cum inveniſſet non niſi tranſmarinis ſubvectionibus; Dinocrates inquit, attendo egregiam formæ compoſitionem, et eâ delector; ſed animadverto, ſi quis deduxerit eo loci coloniam, fore ut judicium ejus vituperetur." Vitruvius Præfat. ad Lib. 2.--17. Folio. Amſt. 1649.

[c] "Επηνει δε τον Αλεξανδρον της μεγαλοψυχιας, ϗ ανδριαντα μειζω τȣτον τȣ Αθȣ ελεγεν αυτȣ ανεςαναι, εν ταις των αει μεμνησομενων διανοιας· ȣ γαρ μικρας ειναι γνωμης ὑπεριδειν ȣ̓τω παραδοξȣ τιμης·" Lucian. pro Imagin. Tom. 2.--489.

reſolution to have deſpiſed this exceſſive and extraordinary honour. But a clear and correct delicacy of taſte, was, in this inſtance, an effectual preſervative againſt the deluſions of vanity and pride. —Alexander, however, afterwards employed Dinocrates in the conſtruction of Alexandria, and this artiſt both drew the plan and directed its execution.[d] Lucian then is in an error, when he advances, that Dinocrates loſt the favour of his maſter by this fulſome piece of flattery, and was not afterwards conſulted or employed by him.[e] The circumſtantial detail, which Vitruvius[f] hath left us, of the means, which the artiſt made uſe of to introduce himſelf into Alexander's ſervice, demonſtrates inconteſtably that he was a ſtranger to him before this ſingular propoſal. From his reſidence in the Eaſt, the corruption of the Macedonian Monarch's taſte may be dated, and the multiplicity of the ornaments on the funeral pile of Hephæſtion fully authorizes the obſervation. Perſians, Macedonians, ſhips and boats, banners and other military trophies, were profuſely introduced, and there was a ſtrange

[d] "Cum Rex Alexander urbem in Ægypto conſtituere vellet, architectus Dinocrates cum cretam non haberet, polentaque futuræ urbis lineamenta duxiſſet, &c." (Val. Max. Lib. 1. C. 4.--46, 47.) "Alexandria enim vortex omnium eſt civitatum: quam multa nobilitant, et magnificentia conditoris altiſſimi, et architecti ſolertia Dinocratis." Amm. Marcellinus. Lib. 22. C. 16.--371. Ed. Gron. 4to 1693.

[e] "Αλλα κολακα ευθυς επιγνους τον ανθρωπον, ουκ επ' αδ'ες τα αλλα ὁμοιως εχρητο." Lucian. Quomod. Hiſt. conſcrib. ſit. Tom. 2.--17.

[f] "Conſpexit eum Alexander——————interrogabatque quis eſſet: At ille, Dinocrates, inquit, architectus Macedo, qui ad te cogitationes et formas affero dignas tuâ claritate." Vitruvius. Præfat. Lib. 2.--17.

ſtrange and inconſiſtent mixture of centaurs, lions and ſirens.[g] Alexander's correct judgment therefore in the arts, which Horace[h] hath applauded, was only ſtrictly true before his Aſiatic conqueſts, and Oriental luxury produced afterwards a total change in it.

Nature had not refuſed to the Macedonian Monarch that exquiſite ſenſibility, which in the Grecian climate was ſo common. Ariſtotle underſtood too well the advantages to be derived from muſic in the education of his pupil, to neglect any talents of this kind, that he diſcovered; but the rules, which he had laid down, did not admit of all the varieties of inſtrumental harmony, and the flute being proſcribed,[i] it does not appear to have been uſed in the Prince's company.

g See l'Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcript. &c. Tom. 31.--76. &c. &c.

h "Judicium ſubtile videndis artibus illud." Horat. Epiſt. 1.--242. Lib. 2.

i "Ουτε γαρ αυλοις εις παιδειαν ακτεον, ουτ'αλλο τεχνικον οργανον, οιον κιθαραν, και ει τι τοιουτον ἑτερον εϛιν, αλλα ὁσα ποιησει αυτων ακροατας αγαθους, η της μουσικης παιδειας, η της αλλης· ετι δε ουκ εϛιν ὁ αυλος ηθικον, αλλα μαλλον οργανιϛικον· ὡϛε προς τους τοιουτους αυτω καιρους χρηϛεον, εν οις ἡ θεωρια καθαρσιν μαλλον δυναται, η μαθησιν· προσθωμεν δε, οτι συμβεβηκεν εναυτιον αυτω προς παιδειαν, ϗ το κωλευειν τω λογω χρησθαι την αυλησιν· διο καλως απεδοκιμασαν αυτε οἱ πρωτερον την χρησιν εκ των νεων, ϗ των ελευθερων·——————Επει δε των τε οργανων ϗ της εργασιας αποδοκιμαζομεν την τεχνικην παιδειαν· τεχνικην δε τιθεμεν την προς τους αγωνας (εν ταυτη γαρ ὁ πραττων, ου της αυτου μεταχειριζεται χαριν αρετης, αλλα της των ακουοντων ἡδονης ϗ ταυτης φορτικης)· διοπερ ου των ελευθερων χρινομεν ειναι την εργασιαν, αλλα θητικοτεραν." (Ariſtot. de Republicâ. Lib. 8. C. 6. Tom. 3.--611, 612.) A modern author, that I have ſomewhere met with, hath ſummed up every advantage to be reaped from muſic by ſaying it "is an elegant amuſement." "It is a ſcience however," he adds, "which employs no one uſeful faculty of the mind, and it often leads to company, which a gentleman would conſider a diſgrace, if he was not himſelf an Amateur." I will not ſay with Shakeſpeare that he

"——Is fit for treaſons, ſtratagems and ſpoils."

This conjecture may serve to explain Alexander's emotions when Timotheus played something in the Orthian[k] style, till then unknown, and which inflamed the Macedonian Monarch in such a manner, that he hurried to his arms. Antigenides is also said to have agitated Alexander still more violently at an entertainment, with some Harmatian measures.[l] Plutarch, notwithstanding, tells us, that Alexander knew perfectly how to preserve his dignity, and by no means disgraced himself with the allowance of any improper freedoms, either from musicians, or the professors of any such accomplishments.[m] The Greek historian undoubtedly meant to allude to the time when the Son of Philip was under the tuition of Leonides and Aristotle, as he had, some pages before, mentioned Alexander's partialities for rapsodies, and the performers on the flute and harp. Festivals were instituted in which the Conqueror

[k] Suidas relates this anecdote at the word "Ορθιασματων," (Tom. 2.--713.) and he defines the "Ορθιον νομον" as follows, "Ανατεταμενοι δ'ησαν ϗ ευτονοι· Ὁμηρος

Ενθα ςασ'ηυσε Θεα μεγα τε δεινον τε,
Ορθι, Αχαιοισι·"

[l] "Και γαρ αυτος, Αντιγενιδȣ ποτε τον ἁρματειον αυλȣντος νομον, ȣτως παρεςη ϗ διεφλεχθη τον θυμον ὑπο των μελων, ὡςε τοις ὁπλοις αιξας, επιβαλειν τας χειρας εγχυς παρακειμενοις·" (De Fort. Alex. Orat. 2. Plut. Oper. Tom. 2.--335.) Suidas explains the "Ἁρματειος νομος.———ἁρματειον μελος, απο ἁρματος· ὁπερ εποιησαν εφ' Ἑκτορι ἑλκομενω ὑφ' ἁρματος· (Ἁρματειος. Tom. 1.--332.) Kuster very curiously adds, as a note upon this passage, "Quid sit Ἁρματειον μελος pulchre explicat etymologus, quem consule." The Baron de St. Croix hath rendered the "Τον ἁρματειον νομον" "Ce nom Harmatien," It must be allowed to be, at least, a literal translation.

[m] I am apprehensive the whole of this passage is founded on a mistake. Plutarch is referred to, but Philip's ideas have been transferred to Alexander. "Και τοις περι μȣσικην, ϗ τα εγκυκλια

queror of the Eaſt offered prizes and rewards to theſe different performers, and on the celebration of the marriages between the Macedonians and the Perſians, the moſt celebrated practitioners were ſearched after and ſent for. Some played on the flute, ſome on the harp, others accompanied them with their voices, and thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves were magnificently rewarded. The crowns and garlands, which were diſtributed on this occaſion, amounted, according to Chares, to ten thouſand five hundred talents, and even the ſingers, the tragic and comic characters, and the figure-dancers had a ſhare in the donations.[n]

The Macedonian Monarch had been a great admirer from his infancy, as may be gathered from Dexippus,[o] of a variety of vigorous and athletic exerciſes. He excelled in running,[p] he wreſtled with Criſſon,[q] and amuſed himſelf at the ball with Ariſtonicus, to whom the Athenians erected a ſtatue and gave the rights

λια παιδευταις ȣ πανυ τι πιςευων την επιςασιαν αυτȣ ϗ καταρτισιν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.-- 667, 668.

n "A dix mille talents." "Ὁι δε πεμφθεντες φησι ςεφανοι ὑπο των πρεσβευτων ϗ των λοιπων ταλαντων ησαν μυριων πενταχισχιλιων." (Athenæus. Lib. 12. Tom. 1.--539.) where there is a long and entertaining account of this ſplendid carouſal.

o "Πασαν ασκησιν ησκημενος σωματικην." Syncellus. 263.—Euſeb. Chronic. 57.

p "Ελαφρος δε ων ϗ ποδωκης." Plut. Apoth. Tom. 2.--179.

q Plutarch tells us, that this conteſt of the Macedonian Monarch with Criſſon was in running. "Ὡσπερ Κρισσων ὁ Ἱμεραιος απελειφθη διαθεων προς Αλεξανδρον." (De Adulat. Tom. 2.--58.) See however Palmerius. Obſervat. in Auctor. Græc.--214.

rights and privileges of a citizen,[r] on account of his wonderful agility. Alexander entertained indeed ſuch a ſincere regard for him, that having perceived ſome likeneſs between him and Palamedes, in a picture of the latter at Epheſus, where he was repreſented expiring in the ſnares of his enemies, he was affected with the tendereſt concern.[s] The Prince ſeemed alſo to have a ſimilar regard for the pugiliſt Dioxippus[t] before the unmerited diſgrace, which he fell into. Clitomachus, one of the unfortunate inhabitants of Thebes, who ſurvived its ruin, and gained many prizes by his performances on the lute, and in the pancratium, prevailed upon the Conqueror, from theſe ſucceſſes, to alleviate his captivity, though it is not true as Tzetzes reports,[w] that Alexander rebuilt Thebes out of reſpect to him. Theſe inſtances are ſufficient to render doubtful what Plutarch relates of this Prince's averſion to the wreſtlers.[x] Yet we may, notwithſtanding, believe with this hiſtorian,

[r] "Αριστονικον, τον Καρυστιον τον Αλεξανδρε σφαιριστην Αθηναιοι πολιτην εποιησαν δια την τεχνην κ) ανδριαντα ανεστασαν·" Athenæus. Lib. 1.--19.

[s] "Περι Αλεξανδρε τε βασιλεως φησιν, ὡς εν Εφεσω θεασαμενος Παλαμηδην δολοφονημενον εν πινακι, εδορυβηθη· διοτι εωκει τω δολοφονημενω Αριστονικ@ ὁ σφαιριστης Αλεξανδρε." Ptol. Hephæſt. Hiſt. Poet. Script. 305, 306. 8vo 1675.

[t] "Dioxippus Athenienſis pugil nobilis, et ob eximiam virtutem regi pernotus et gratus;" (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 7. Tom. 2.--717, 718.) who ſeems to have copied the account of his fatal ſucceſs from Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--237, 238.

[w] Chilo. 139.

[x] "Φαινεται δε κ) καθολε περος το των αθλητων γεν@ αλλοτρι@ εχων. πλειστες γε τοι θεις αγωνας ε μονον τραγωδων κ) αυλητων κ) κιθαρωδων, αλλα κ) ραψωδων, θηρας τε παντοδαπης κ) ραβδομαχιας, ετε πυγμης, ετε παγκρατιε μετα τιν@ σπευδης εθηκεν αθλον·" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--666.

torian, that it was with ſome reluctance he permitted the introduction of pugiliſm and the pancratium into the gymnaſtic games, in the ſpectacles, which he gave to his troops. This appears to be the fair and candid conſtruction of the text of Plutarch, though the learned Monſieur Burette hath ſuppoſed, that the Macedonian Monarch "thought ſo little of both pugiliſm and the pancratium as not to give himſelf the trouble of allowing them a place amongſt the other games, of which the public feſtivals were compoſed."[y] It is therefore very probable that Alexander's antipathy was only to the pugiliſts by profeſſion, and thoſe who devoted themſelves to the pancratium, without any other occupation. We may eaſily conceive then, that in the games at Ecbatana, and in thoſe, where the children only entered the liſts,[z] the Conqueror might follow with leſs embarraſſment his own inclinations; and as thoſe games were not there very common, they might with leſs difficulty be varied. The Stadium or ſimple foot-race, and the Dolichus or long courſe, where children contended for the prize in Nemean, Aſclepian, Ælean and Olympic games;[a] or even the Diaulus or double courſe,[b] in which children engaged at the Pythian

[y] "Il faiſoit ſi peu de cas du pugilat et du pancrace, qu'il ne ſe mit jamais en peine de leur donner place parmi les autres ſpectacles, qui compoſoient ces ſortes de fêtes publiques." Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 3.--263.

[z] This was ſometimes the caſe, as may be learnt from Arrian. "Παιδων γαρ αγων ην εκειν τη ἡμερα γυμνικος." De Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--508.

[a] See an inſcription found in the city of Tegæa. Corſini Differt. 4.—And his obſervations on it.

[b] The Stadium was a ſimple foot-race, revived by Iphitus, taking its name from its length: the Diaulus

an games, might have been preferred to the pancratium and pugiliſm. Alexander, previous to his departure for Aſia, offered the ſacrifices to Jupiter Olympius, which had been inſtituted by Archelaus, one of his predeceſſors; and both celebrated the Olympic games at Ægæ,[c] and alſo treated the public with gymnaſtic exerciſes on every remarkable occaſion.

The circumſtances that have been mentioned, will have thrown ſome little light on Alexander's education, whoſe private life deſerves as much attention as his victories. In following the different hiſtorians of his actions there is a philoſophical kind of duty, which ſhould not be forgotten. The Son of Philip hath been called the Great, but ſuch an epithet hath been ſometimes voluntarily proſtituted by the vileſt adulation, and at others compulſively extorted by arrogance and tyranny. Without being overawed by the authority of a great name, let us endeavour, by a cool and candid examination of the Macedonian Monarch's pretenſions,

Diaulus was a double ſtadium, in which they ran from the barrier to the goal, (the modern Amateur of the turf will excuſe an adherence to ancient terms) and returned to the barrier; and the Dolichus was a ſtill longer courſe, conſiſting of ſeven, twelve, and ſometimes twenty-four ſtadia. (Suidas ad Δολιχος. Tom. 1.--214.) In the two former, ſpeed was generally ſucceſsful; but in the latter, both ſtrength and ſpeed, and, in the language of Newmarket, bottom, were abſolutely neceſſary. Much curious information on the ſubject of the Grecian games may be collected from Corſini, (Diſſert. Agoniſt.) who hath touched on almoſt every intereſting particular that relates to them.

[c] "Celebra à Ægas les jeux Olympiques qui y avoient eté etablis par Archelaus." The Baron de St. Croix refers to Arrian, and I have almoſt verbally tranſlated him. "Δια τω Ολυμπιω την θυσιαν την απ' Αρχελαυ ετι καθεςωσαν ἐθυσε, κ) τον αγωνα εν Αιγαις διεθηκε τα Ολυμπια" Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 11.--45.

tenſions, to diſcover if he had any right to the title. Juſtin[d] reports that Alexander, before he ſet out for Aſia put all his ſtepmother's relations to death, and that every individual, the brilliancy of whoſe talents might have raiſed in them any royal expectations, was included in this proſcription, but there is not a veſtige of this calumny in the writings of the Ancients.

The reſtoration of the privileges of the Grecian colonies in Aſia, and the deſtruction of an odious Oligarchy were the firſt fruits of Alexander's victories.[e] His moderation and his juſtice, were in many inſtances undoubtedly conſpicuous, but the hiſtorians may have multiplied them, and they ought not to be admitted in a group without conſideration.

We are informed by Q. Curtius, that Strato having been deprived of his dominions from his attachment to Darius, the Conqueror permitted Hephæſtion to diſpoſe of the vacant diadem as he pleaſed.[f] The Favourite caſt his eyes upon two young men,

 who

[d] "Proficiſcens ad Perſicum bellum, omnes novercæ ſuæ cognatos,——————interfecit. Sed nec ſuis, qui apti regno videbantur, pepercit." Juſtin. Lib. 11. C. 5.--265.

[e] "Και τας μεν ολιγαρχιας πανταχȣ καταλυειν εκελευσε, δημοκρατιας δε γε εγκαθιςαναι, ϗ τȣς νομȣς τȣς σφων ἑκαςοις αποδȣναι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 18.--68.

[f] "Regnabat in eâ Strato, Darii opibus adjutus; ſed quia deditionem magis popularium, quam ſuâ ſponte fecerat, regno viſus indignus; Hephæſtionique permiſſum, ut quem eo faſtigio e Sidoniis digniſſimum arbitraretur, conſtitueret regem. Erant Hephæſtione hoſpites clari inter ſuos juvenes, qui factâ ipſis poteſtate regnandi, negaverunt, quemquam patrio more in id faſtigium recipi, niſi regiâ ſtirpe ortum. Admiratus Hephæſtio magnitudinem animi ſpernentis, quod alii per

who were then his gueſts, but they declined the honour, and recommended to him Abdolominus, deſcended from their ancient kings, but reduced to a ſtate of poverty, in which he laboured for a maintenance.[g]

Hephæſtion confirmed their choice, but Juſtin ſeems to hint that the new monarch was not of a noble extraction,[h] and Diodorus Siculus tranſports the ſcene to Tyre after its capture, where he ſuppoſes Balonymus[i] to have ſucceeded Strato. The latter hiſtorian

per ignes ferrumque peterent. Vos quidem macti virtute, inquit, eſtote, qui primi intellexiſtis, quanto majus eſſet, regnum faſtidire quam accipere. Ceterum, date aliquem regiæ ſtirpis, qui meminerit, a vobis acceptum habere ſe regnum. At illi quum multos imminere tantæ ſpei cernerent, ſingulis amicorum Alexandri, ob nimiam regni cupiditatem, adulantes; ſtatuunt, neminem eſſe potiorem quam Abdolominum quemdam, longâ quidem cognatione ſtirpi regiæ adnexum, ſed ob inopiam ſuburbanum hortum exiguâ colentem ſtipe." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 1. Tom. 1. --156——158.

g If we could ſuppoſe, with Q. Curtius, the converſation between the new Monarch and his Royal Patron to have really paſſed, an inſtructive and uſeful leſſon might be collected from it. "Admitti eum Rex protinus juſſit; diuque contemplatus, 'corporis,' inquit, 'habitus famæ generis non repugnat: ſed libet ſcire, inopiam quâ patientiâ tuleris?' Tum ille, utinam, inquit, 'eodem animo regnum pati poſſim: hæ manus ſuffecere deſiderio meo: nihil habenti, nihil defuit.'" Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 1. Tom. 1.--160.

h "Juſtin pretend que ce nouveaux roi etoit d'une naiſſance obſcure." The Latin hiſtorian ſays nothing of the birth or family of Abdalonimus, and the conſtruction, which the Baron de St. Croix hath put upon the paſſage, can only be inferred by implication. "Inſignis præter cæteros fuit Abdalonimus, rex ab Alexandro Sidoniæ conſtitutus: quem Alexander, cum operam oblocare ad puteos exhauriendos, hortoſque inrigandos ſolitus eſſet, miſere vitam exhibentem, regem fecerat, ſpretis nobilibus, ne generis id, non dantis beneficium putarent." (Lib. 11. C. 10. --282, 283.) I have lowered the force of the French expreſſion.

i "Της μεν Τυριων πολεως κατεσησε τον ονομαζομενον Βαλλωνυμον." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2. --195.

hiſtorian however, deceives himſelf, for Azelminus then reigned inſtead of Strato. The author of the ſecond diſſertation on the fortune of Alexander, attributed to Plutarch,[k] aſſures us that this event happened at Paphos, which was at that time under the dominion of a vicious and tyrannical prince of the family of the Cinarides. After the tyrant had been dethroned by the Macedonian Monarch, a perſon of the ſame Royal lineage was ſubſtituted in his room, who had lived till then unnoticed, from the produce of a garden, which he cultivated. On his acceſſion to the throne, he took the name of *Alunomus*, but the circumſtance of Hephæſtion's recommendation is wanting.—The variation and diſagreement of the different hiſtorians afford a ſtrong ſuſpicion of the anecdote, and the ſilence of Arrian renders it ſtill more dubious. As Strato, in the abſence of his father Geroſtratus, the king of the Aradians, who had then joined Autophrodates with the Phœnician fleet, went to meet Alexander, and to put Aradus, Marathon, Mariamne, and the reſt of his dominions under the Macedonian Monarch's protection,[l] the fable may be owing to his offer of obedience.

k "Παλιν εν Παφω, τȣ βασιλευοντος αδικȣ ϗ πονηρȣ φανεντος, εκβαλων τȣτον Αλεξανδρος, ἑτερον εζητει, τȣ Κινυραδων γενȣς ηδη φθινειν ϗ απολειπειν δοκȣντος· ἑνα δ'ȣν εφασαν περιειναι πενητα ϗ αδοξον ανθρωπον εν κηπω τινι παρημελημενως διατρεφομενον· επι τȣτον ὁι πεμφθεντες ἡκον, ἑυρεθη δε πρασιαις ὑδωρ επαντλων————αχθεις δε προς Αλεξανδρον εν ευτελει σινδονικη, βασιλευς ανηγορευθη, ϗ πορφυραν ελαβε, ϗ ἑις ην των ἑταιρων προσαγορευομενων· εκαλειτο δε αρα Αλυνομος." Plutarchi Opera, Tom, 2. --340.

l Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 13.--144.

Moſt probably the ſame Hiſtorians have repreſented Alexander's conduct, in a more favourable, than correct light, reſpecting the Queen and mother of Darius, after the battle of Iſſus. The miſtake which Syſigambis made, when ſhe imagined Hephæſtion to have been the king, and the anſwer of the Macedonian Monarch are only given by Arrian as traditions,[m] which were neither taken notice of by Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus. Yet he does not think they were entirely deſtitute of probability,[n] and he laviſhes much praiſe and commendation on Alexander's[o] virtue, which, he argues, muſt have been highly celebrated from the circulation of ſuch a vague and uncertain adventure.

Monſieur de Bougainville hath amply, as well as ably vindicated the honour of Statira,[p] whoſe character and conduct had ſuffered and been ſuſpected from the ambiguity and inaccuracy of Plutarch and Juſtin. His defence of this Princeſs is founded on the moſt ſagacious obſervations, and the ſubject is handled in ſuch a maſterly manner, that it wants no additions.

The

[m] "Λογος δε εχει.————" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 12.--141.

[n] "Και ταυτα εγω εθ'ως αληθη, ετε ως παντη απιστα απεγραψα." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 12.--141, 142.

[o] One of the fineſt eulogies upon Alexander that is to be met with in any language, may be found in Monteſquieu. "Qu'eſt-ce que ce conquerant, qui eſt pleuré de tous les peuples qu'il a ſoumis? qu'eſt-ce que cet uſurpateur, ſur la mort duquel la famille qu'il a renverſeé du trône verſe des larmes? C'eſt un trait de cette vie dont les hiſtoriens ne nous diſent pas que quelque autre conquerant puïſſe ſe vanter." De l'Eſprit de Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1.--198. 4to Ed. 1767.

[p] Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions. Tom. 25.--37.

The Macedonian Monarch's generoſity to the Royal family of Perſia, which Tyriotes had related to Darius, induced him, according to Q. Curtius,[q] to ſend ambaſſadors to his more fortunate rival, and ſue for peace. Neither Diodorus Siculus[r] nor Juſtin[s] have ſpoken of the pathetic converſation between Darius and Tyriotes, or Tyrcus, as he is called by Plutarch, though they have recorded the embaſſy, which had the peace of Aſia for its object. All the hiſtorians, fix the time of this embaſſy ſome days after the battle of Gaugamele. Arrian ſtates the converſation of the Perſian Monarch with his Eunuch to have been ſoon after the battle of Iſſus, but he allows its certainty depended on very looſe reports,[t] and to ſuch reports little credit can certainly be due.

One

[q] "Itaque quamquam pace fruſtra bis petitâ, omnia in bellum conſilia converterat; victus tamen continentiâ hoſtis, ad novas pacis conditiones ferendas decem legatos cognatorum principes miſit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 11. Tom. 1.--249.) The affecting interview between Darius and Tyriotes is luxuriantly deſcribed in the preceding pages.

[r] "Παλιν εξεπεμψεν αλλους πρεσβεις, επαινων μεν αυτον επι τω καλως κεχρησθαι τη τε μητρι κ᾽ τοις αλλοις αιχμαλωτοις, αξιων δε φιλον γενεσθαι, κ᾽ λαβειν την εντ῀ Ευφρατε χωραν, κ᾽ ταλαντα αργυριε τρισχιλια, κ᾽ την ἑτεραν τε ἑαυτε θυγατερων γυναικα." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--202.

[s] In itinere nuntiatur, uxorem ejus ex colliſione abjecti partus deceſſiſſe, ejuſque mortem illachrymatum Alexandrum, exſequiaſque benigne profecutum, idque eum non amoris, ſed humanitatis cauſâ feciſſe. Nam ſemel tantum eam Alexandro viſam eſſe, cum matrem filiaſque ejus parvulas frequenter conſolaretur. Tunc Darius ſe ratus vere victum, cum poſt prælia etiam beneficiis ab hoſte ſuperaretur, gratumque ſibi eſſe, ſi vincere nequeat, quod a tali potiſſimum vinceretur. Scribit itaque et tertias epiſtolas, et gratias agit, quod nihil in ſuos hoſtile fecerat. Offert deinceps majorem partem regni uſque flumen Euphraten et alteram filiam uxorem: pro reliquis captivis triginta millia talentum." Juſtin. Lib. 11. C. 12.--287, 288.

[t] "Και τοινυν κ᾽ λογ῀ κατεχει." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 20.--308.

One of the firſt politicians of our age hath admitted, that Alexander was guilty of two diſgraceful actions, the burning of Perſepolis, and the murder of Clitus. But Monteſquieu appears to have been led into an error by Q. Curtius, who relates that the Conqueror of Aſia, on the inſtigation of Thais and fluſhed with wine, at the end of an entertainment ſet fire to the palace of Perſepolis, and that the city was entirely conſumed. [w]——The Latin hiſtorian hath given, however, too extenſive a conſtruction to the text of Diodorus Siculus, from which he ſeems to have borrowed his relation, as the Greek author merely tells us, that the environs of the palace were burnt. [x] Arrian ſpeaks only of the

[w] Q. Curtius, with ſome introductory ſentences deſcriptive of the Royal debauchery, gives the following detail of its deſtruction. "Thais et ipſa temulenta, maximam apud omnes Græcorum initurum gratiam adfirmat, ſi regiam Perſarum juſſit incendi. Expectare hoc eos, quorum urbes barbari deleſſent. Ebrio ſcorto de tantâ re ferente ſententiam, unus et alter, et ipſi mero onerati, adſentiunt. Rex quoque fuit avidior, quam patienter: quin igitur ulciſcimur Græciam, et urbi faces ſubdimus? omnes incaluerant mero: itaque ſurgunt temulenti ad incendendam urbem, cui armati pepercerant. Primus rex ignem regiæ injecit; tùm convivæ et miniſtri, pelliceſque. Multa cedro ædifica erat regia: quæ celeritâ igne concepto, late fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul ab urbe tendebat, conſpexit; fortuitum ratus, ad opem ferendam concurrit. Sed ut ad veſtibulum regiæ ventum eſt, vident regem ipſum adhuc adgerentem faces. Omiſſâ igitur, quam portaverant, aquâ, aridam materiam in incendium jacere cæperunt. Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes ante jura petebant: patria tot regum; unicus quondam Græciæ terror; molita mille navium claſſem, et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata eſt; contabulato mari molibus, perfoſſiſque montibus, in quorum ſpecus fretum immiſſum eſt. Ac ne longâ quidem ætate, quæ excidium ejus ſequuta eſt, reſurrexit. Alias habuere urbes Macedonum reges, quas nunc habent Parthi, hujus veſtigium non inveniretur, niſi Araxes amnis oſtenderet. Haud procul mœnibus fluxerat, inde urbem fuiſſe XX ſtadiis diſtantem, credunt magis, quam ſciunt adcolæ." (Q. Curt. Lib. 5.--67. Tom. 1.--356, 357, 358.) The learned reader may conſult Salmaſius, (Plin. Exercit. 846.) on the Araxes.

[x] "Πας ὁ περι τα βασιλεια τοπος κατεφλεχθη" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--216.

the disaster which befel the ancient palace of the kings of Persia,[y] and agrees in this particular with Strabo[z] and Clitarchus.[a] Plutarch even diminishes the conflagration, and we may collect from him, that this edifice was the sole building exposed to the flames, that a part of it was only burnt, and that Alexander, recovering from his Bacchanalian phrensy, ordered the flames to be extinguished.[b] The ruins of this celebrated palace are still subsisting,

[y] Thais does not appear in Arrian's narrative to have had any share in the transaction, and the Bacchanalian riot is totally suppressed. Parmenio opposed the Macedonian Monarch's intention with arguments drawn both from honour and prudence, but in vain; and the Royal palace of Persepolis, if we are to believe this Greek historian, suffered in retaliation for the Persian ravages in Greece. "Τα βασιλεια δε τα Περσικα ενεπρησε, Παρμενιωνος σωζειν συμβουλευοντος, τα τε αλλα καὶ ὁτι ου καλον αυτου κτηματα ηδη απολλυναι, καὶ ὁτι ουχ' ὡσαυτως προσεξουσιν αυτω ὁι κατα την Ασιαν ανθρωποι, ὡς ουδε αυτω εγνωκοτι κατεχειν της Ασιας αρχην, αλλ' απελθειν μονον νικωντα· ὁ δε, τιμωρησασθαι εθελειν Περσας εφασκεν, ανθ' ὡν επι την Ἑλλαδα ελασαντες, τας τε Αθηνας κατεσκαψαν, καὶ τα ἱερα ενεπρησαν, καὶ ὁσα αλλα κακα τους Ἑλληνας ειργασαντο, ὑπερ τουτων δικας λαβειν· Αλλ' ουδ' εμοι δοκει συν νω δρασαι τουτο γε Αλεξανδρον, ουδε ειναι τις αυτη Περσων των παλαι τιμωρια." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 18.--224, 225.) The evidence is unexceptionable from its conclusion.

[z] "Ενεπρηση δε ὁ Αλεξανδρος τα εν Περσαιπολει βασιλεια, τιμωρων τοις Ἑλλησιν, ὁτι κακεινων ἱερα καὶ πολεις ὁι Περσαι πυρι καὶ σιδηρω διεπορθησαν." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1061.

[a] "Ὁι δε μεγας Αλεξανδρος ου Θαιδα ειχε μεθ' ἑαυτου την Αττικην ἑταιραν· περι ἡς φησι Κλειταρχος ὡς αιτιας γενομενης του εμπρησθηναι τα εν Περσεπολει βασιλεια." Athenæus. Lib. 13.--576.

[b] Plutarch after mentioning the Bacchanalian entertainment, and the seductive appeal of Thais to Alexander's passions, adds "Αμα δε τω λογω τουτω κροτου καὶ θορυβου γενομενου δε παρακελευσεως των ἑταιρων καὶ φιλοτιμιας, επισπασθεις ὁ βασιλευς καὶ αναπηδησας, εχων στεφανον καὶ λαμπαδα προηγεν· ὁι δε ἑπομενοι κωμω καὶ βοη περιισταντο τα βασιλεια· καὶ των αλλων Μακεδονων ὁι πυνθανομενοι συνετρεχον μετα λαμπαδων, χειροντες· ηλπιζον γαρ ὁτι τοις οικοι προσεχοντες εστι τον νουν, καὶ μη μελλοντας εν βαρβαροις οικειν, το πιμπραναι τα βασιλεια καὶ διαφθειρειν· ὁι μεν ουτω ταυτα γενεσθαι φασιν, ὁι δε απο γνωμης· ὁτι δ' ουν μετενοησεν ταχυ καὶ κατασβεσαι προσεταξεν, ὁμολογειται·" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--687.) The dubious anecdote of Thais was most probably adopted on the very disputable authority of Clitarchus, and the "Ὁι δε απο γνωμης" appears to strengthen Arrian's relation.

ing,[c] but excluſive of this circumſtance, ſuch immenſe maſſes of ſtone of the aſtoniſhing thickneſs and ſtrength, that Le Brun[d] hath deſcribed, could not have been ſo completely deſtroyed, that no remains of them were left. We may reaſonably preſume, that the fire, after having reduced every thing that was combuſtible into aſhes, then gradually expired. Many writers[e] having adopted the opinion of Q. Curtius, it appears more neceſſary to exculpate Alexander, and to ſhew that the city of Perſepolis exiſted ages after his death.

Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks of a ſacrifice by Peuceſtes, a Perſian Satrap, to the Manes of Philip and of Alexander in the city of Perſepolis,[f] ſome time after the death of the latter monarch; and Antiochus Epiphanes, according to the book of Maccabees,[g] attempted

[c] Monsr le Comte de Caylus, whoſe opinions are certainly reſpectable, thinks differently. See a long diſſertation on the ſubject in the Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 29.--139.

[d] Voyage de Le Brun. Tom. 4. C. 52.

[e] Salmaſius. Exercit. Plin. 226, 228.—Bochart. Geograph. Sac. Lib. 2. C. 2.—Prideaux. Connect. of the Hiſtory of the old and new Teſtament. Book 8. Vol. 1.--397. Folio. 1718.—Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 26. Tom. 1.--710.

[f] "Ως δε ποθ' ήκον εις Περσεπολιν το βασιλειον, Πευκεστης μεν, ων ταυτης της χωρης Σατραπης κ) στρατηγ⊙, θυσιαν επετελεσε μεγαλοπρεπη τοις θεοις κ) Αλεξανδρω κ) Φιλιππω, μεταπεμψαμεν⊙ δε εξ όλης σχεδον της Περσιδ⊙ ιερεων κ) των αλλων των εις ευωχιαν κ) πανηγυριν χρησιμων πληθ⊙, εισιασε την δυναμιν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19. Tom. 2.--334.

[g] "Εισεληλυθει γαρ εις την λεγομενην Περσεπολιν, κ) επεχειρησεν ιεροσυλειν, κ) την πολιν συνεχειν· διο δη των πληθων ορμησαντων, επι την των όπλων βοηθειαν ετραπησαν· κ) συμβη τρωπωθεντα τον Αντιοχον ύπο των εγχωριων, ασχημονα την αναζυγην ποιησασθαι." 2. Maccab. C. 9. V. 2.

tempted to plunder its temple famous for its riches, but was repulſed by the inhabitants and put to flight, which proves both the opulence and population of the city, about 164 years before Chriſt, the period of this attack.—Ptolemy the aſtronomer, who lived under Hadrian and Antonine[h] reckons alſo Perſepolis amongſt the principal cities of Perſia,[i] and Ammianus Marcellinus[k] ſpeaks of it as exiſting with eclat, as late as in the reign of Julian.

The total deſtruction of this celebrated city is to be referred to the firſt ages of Mahometiſm, and its inhabitants having violated a treaty, which they had concluded with the Muſſulmen, they were maſſacred and their city ruined. Adula-Katil-Mich afterwards completed its entire deſtruction,[l] and its remains were employed in the ſtructure of Shiras, which was at no great diſtance, and was founded in the 76th year of the Hegira, under the Ommiades. This was the real epoch of the total ruin of Perſepolis, called Iſtakhar by the Orientals, and it now only offers to the traveller a few ragged hovels in the midſt of immenſe wrecks of its ancient glory.[m]—But it may be perhaps objected, that Perſepolis had been

 rebuilt

[h] Petav. Doctrina Temp. Tom. 2.--634.

[i] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 4.

[k] "Inter quæ Perſepolis eſt clara." Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--407. Ed. Gronovii. 4to L. B. 1693.

[l] Geograph. Turc. 488. A manuſcript in the late French King's library.

[m] Voyage de la Bruyn. Tom. 4.--301.—See alſo, Voyages de Pietro della Valle. Tom. 5.--312.

rebuilt after it was burnt by Alexander. The ſacrifice, however, of Peuceſtes was too near this ſuppoſed event, for the city to have riſen from its aſhes in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. To add a more decided proof, Strabo, and Arrian tell us, that Alexander reſided in this ancient capital of Perſia after his Indian expedition, and mention alſo its flouriſhing ſtate, and that it wanted only the palace of its ancient kings.[n] The palace of Perſepolis was imagined to have been burnt 330 years before Chriſt, and Alexander's return to this city was 326 years before Chriſt, which leaves only an interval of four years, and they could not have been ſufficient to have reinſtated it in its former ſplendour.

The fame of Alexander's victories had been widely ſpread throughout the Eaſt, and Thaleſtris, the Queen of the Amazons, is ſaid to have formed the romantic project of a journey to ſee him.—Q. Curtius and Juſtin[o] fix her arrival after the reduction of

[n] "Strabon et Arrien rapportent qu'Alexandre ſejourna dans cette ancienne capital de la Perſe au retour de ſon expedition des Indes, et ajoutent, en parlant de l'etat floriſſant où elle trouvoit, qu'il ne manquoit à ſa ſplendour, que le palais de ſes anciens rois." For the proof of this aſſertion, the Baron de St. Croix refers his reader to Strabo (Lib. 15.--501.) and Arrian, (Lib. 4. C. 30.) but after a minute examination, both perſonally and by proxy, I have not diſcovered a ſingle ſentiment in either of the books, referred to in theſe authors, with this import. Strabo, when he ſpeaks of Perſepolis, does not mention Alexander's return to it, after the expreſſion "Ενιπεησε——————τα εν Περσαιπολει βασιλεια" (Lib. 15.--1061.) and Arrian does not even mention Perſepolis, in the thirtieth chapter of the fourth book. There is, however, the following paſſage in Arrian: "Ενθεν δε ες τα βασιλεια ηει των Περσων, ἁ δη προσθεν κατεφλεξεν αυτος." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 30.--473.) which proves that the palace, or, at leaſt, a part of it, was ſtill in being.

[o] Q. Curtius (Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--419——423.) hath given the galant adventure at full length:

of Hyrcania; Diodorus Siculus[p] after Alexander's ſecond expedition into that country; Plutarch[q] after the paſſage of the Iaxartes; and Arrian introduces it amongſt the events after the Indian campaign. The firſt three hiſtorians ſpeak of this viſit as of a fact, which had poſitively happened, and endeavour to aſſign the ſame motives of Thaleſtris for the journey. Plutarch hath preſerved the names of the hiſtorians, who gave credit to this extraordinary adventure, in which, galantry according to their account, had a principal ſhare, and they were Clitarchus, Policritus, Antigenes and[r] Iſter. Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip of Theangela,[s] Hecateus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, very properly rejected it as a fable; and as Alexander,

 though

length: Juſtin hath abridged it. "Hyrcaniam Mardoſque ſubegit. Ibi ei occurrit Thaleſtris ſive Minithya, Amazonum regina, cum trecentis mulieribus, viginti quinque dierum inter infeſtiſſimas gentes itinere confecto, ex rege liberos quæſitura: cujus conſpectus adventuſque admiratione omnibus fuit, et propter inſolitum feminis habitum, et propter expetitum concubitum. Ob hoc tredecim diebus otio a rege datis, ut viſa eſt uterum impleſſe, diſceſſit." Lib. 12. C. 3.--308, 309.

[p] "Επανελθουτ@ δ' αυτε παλιν εις την Υρκανιαν, ηκε ωρος αυτον ἡ βασιλισσα των Αμαζονων, ονομα μεν Θαλησρις, βασιλευσα δε της μεταξυ τε Φασιδ@ κ᾽ Θερμωδοντ@ χωρας· ην δε τω τε καλλει κ᾽ τη τε σωματ@ ῥωμη διαφερυσα, κ᾽ παρα τοις ὁμοεθνεσι θαυμαζομενη κατ᾽ ανδρειαν· κ᾽ το μεν πληθ@ της στρατιας επι των ὁρων της Υρκανιας απολελοιπυια, μετα δε τριακοσιων Αμαζονιδων κεκοσμεμενων πολεμικοις ὁπλοις παραγενομενη· τε δε βασιλεως θαυμαζουτ@ το, τε παραδοξον της παρυσιας, κ᾽ το αξιωμα των γυναικων, κ᾽ την Θαλησριν ερομενε, τινα χρειαν εχυσα παρεσιν, απεφαινετο παιδοποιιας ἑνεκεν ηκειν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--220.

[q] "Και τον Ορξαρτην διαβας ποταμον, ὁν αυτ@ φετο Ταναιν ειναι ——— ενταυθα δε ωρος αυτον ἀφικεσθαι την Αμαζονα ὁι πολλοι λεγυσιν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--691.

[r] De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--691.

[s] I have adopted the emendation "Theangela," ſuggeſted by Langhorn, (Plutarch's Lives. Vol. 4.--286.) on the authority of Athenæus. Φιλιππ@ Θεαγγελευς. Lib. 6.--271.

though he mentioned in one of his letters to Antipater, the offer which the Scythian monarch made him of his daughter's hand, neither took any notice of the Amazons, nor of the Queen, they were confirmed in their opinion of its falſity.[t] Plutarch hath added, that Oneſicritus reciting before king Lyſimachus the fourth book of his hiſtory, in which this adventure of Thaleſtris was included, the prince could not help laughing at its abſurdity and inquiring how it happened, that he had been ſo long ignorant of it.[w]——Arrian[x] alſo aſſures us, that neither Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus, nor any one reſpectable hiſtorian had given it his ſanction. To ſhew that even the Amazons did not exiſt in Alexander's days, he reaſons from the ſilence of Xenophon, who mentions the inhabitants of Colchis and Phaſis, in his deſcription[y] of the retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, without naming the Amazons, who were ſuppoſed to have formerly occupied that tract of country. The

t "Και μαρτυρειν αυτοις εοικεν Αλεξανδρος· Αντιπατρω γαρ ἁπαντα γραφων ακριβως, τον μεν Σκυθην φησιν αυτω διδοναι την θυγατερα προς γαμον, Αμαζονος δε ουδε μνημονευει." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--691.

w "Λεγεται δε τοις χρονοις Ονησικριτος ὑστερον ηδη βασιλευοντι Λυσιμαχω των βιβλιων το τεταρτον αναγινωσκειν, εν ω γεγραπται περι της Αμαζονος· τον ουν Λυσιμαχον ατρεμα μειδιασαντα, Και πως (φαναι) τοτε ημην εγω"' De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 7.--691.

x "Ταυτα δε ουτε Αριστοβουλος, ουτε Πτολεμαιος, ουτις αλλος ανεγραψεν, ὁστις ικανος ὑπερ των τηλικουτων τεκμηριωσαι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506.

y "Ουδε δοκει μοι εν τω τοτε σωζεσθαι το γενος των Αμαζονων, ουδε τις προ Αλεξανδρου η Ξενοφων ανεμνησθη αυτων, Φασιανων τε μνησθεις και Κολχων, και ὁσα αλλα απο Τραπεζουντος ὁρμωμενοι, η προιων εις Τραπεζουντα κατελθειν οι Ἑλληνες επηλθον εθνη βαρβαρικα· ἱνα που και ταις Αμαζοσιν εντετυχηκεσαν, ειπερ ουν ετι ησαν Αμαζονες" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506, 507.

The chronicle of Paros,[z] refers this wonderful retreat to the Archonſhip of Lachis, 400 years before Chriſt, which was 44 years previous to the birth of Alexander.

The active and martial life, to which even the Sarmatian women were devoted, gave the Scythians undoubtedly the idea of the Amazons; a fiction which the Greeks adopted, and which correſponded ſo much with the taſte of their writers, that the hiſtories of many of their heroes were embelliſhed with it.[a] Strabo refutes with great judgment the ſtory of Thaleſtris, who was ſuppoſed to have travelled from the borders of the Thermodon and the Caſpian gates, which were more than ſix thouſand ſtadia diſtant from each other. This able geographer conſiders every thing as fabulous, that had been circulated reſpecting the Amazons;[b] and his authority is certainly preferable to that of the learned French Academician,

[z] Epoch. 67.

[a] Monſieur Freret ſuppoſes the Greeks to have invented the fable of the Amazons. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 21.--106.

[b] "Strabon refute avec raiſon le voyage de Thaleſtris qu'on pretend etre venue des bords du Thermodon juſqu'aux portes Caſpiennes." "Κλειταρχος φησι την Θαλησριαν απο Κασπιων πυλων, και Θερμωδοντος ορμηθεισαν ελθειν προς Αλεξανδρον· εισι δ'απο Κασπιων εις Θερμωδοντα σταδιοι πλειους εξακισχιλιων" (Strabo. Lib. 11.--771.) I have adhered to Strabo's copulative Και, which increaſes the improbability, that he criticiſed. The Baron de St. Croix ſeems to have miſtaken him. ——"Περι δε των Αμαζονων τα αυτα λεγεται, και νυν, και παλαι, τερατωδη τ'οντα, και πιστεως παρεργον· Τις γαρ αν πιστευσειεν, ως γυναικων στρατος, η πολις, η εθνος συσαιη αν ποτε χωρις ανδρων; και μονον γε συσαιη, αλλα και εφοδους ποιησαι επι την αλλοτριαν——————και απιστως αποφαινονται· καθαπερ και περι Θαλησριας, ην Αλεξανδρω συμμιξαι φασιν εν τη Υρκανια, και συγγενεσθαι τεκνοποιιας χαριν, δυναστευσαν των Αμαζονων· ου γαρ ομολογειται τουτο· αλλα των συγγραφεων τοσουτων οντων, οι μαλισα της αληθειας φροντισαντες ουκ ειρηκασιν·

demician,[c] who ſubſcribes to the vague reports of the Indians of Maragnon, and ſome other parts of South America, and hath attempted

σεν· ȣ δ'οἱ πιςευομενοι μαλιςα ȣδενος μεμνηνται τȣτων· ȣ δ'οἱ ειποντες τα αυτα ειρηκασι." (Strabo. Lib. 11.--770.) And Arrian gives as little credit to their exiſtence. "Μη γενεσθαι μεν γαρ παντελως το γενος τȣτων των γυναικων, ȣ πιςον δοκει εμοιγε, προς τοσȣτων ϗ τοιȣτων ὑμνηθεν." Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--507.

[c] "Je ſais, que tous, ou la plupart des Indiens dél'Amerique meridionale ſont menteurs, credules, entêtes du merveilleux; mais aucun de ces peuples n'a jamais entendu parler des Amazones de Diodore de Sicile et de Juſtin. Cependant il etoit deja queſtion des Amazones parmi les Indiens du centre de l'Amerique, avant que les Eſpagnols y euſſent penetrè, et il en a etè mention depuis chez des peuples qui n'avoient jamais vû d'Europeens. C'eſt ce que prouve l'avis donné par le Cacique à Orellana et à ſes gens, ainſi que les traditions rapporteés par le pere d'Acuna, et par le pere Baraze. Croira-t-on que des ſauvages de contreés eloignees ſe ſoient accordes à imaginer, ſans ancun fondement, le meme fait; et que cette pretendue fable ait etè adoptèe ſi uniformement et ſi univerſellement à Maynas, au Para, à Cayenne, à Venezuela, parmi tant de nations, qui ne s'entendent point, et qui n'ont aucune communication." (Voyage de Condamine dans l'interieur de l'Amerique Meridionale. 111, 112.) The Baron de St. Croix obſerves that it was neither from Diodorus Siculus, nor Juſtin, nor even the Europeans, that theſe people received the fable of the Amazons; their own natural character, as they were declared to be "Menteurs, credules et entêtes de merveilleux," having ſuggeſted it to them; and he aſks, with very forcible propriety, if the exiſtence of the country of El Dorado is to be admitted, becauſe the different inhabitants of Peru, Brazil, and Guiana, have believed it. The concurrence of traditions, whenever they are properly authenticated, under theſe circumſtances, is certainly extraordinary; but two rules may perhaps be laid down, which, in a great meaſure, may ſerve for our general direction. When traditions of things, which were poſſible, are handed down to ſucceeding generations, in diſtant and unconnected nations, they undoubtedly carry with them an appearance of authority: where they run in a direct oppoſition to the known and immutable laws of nature, they can only be conſidered as repeated inſtances of weakneſs and credulity. Such a ſociety as that of the Amazons, could not have ſubſiſted without a total metamorphoſis of the human ſpecies, and the annihilation of its wants and paſſions. To make uſe of Strabo's ſtrong expreſſion, it would be literally "Ὡς αν ει τις λεγοι, τȣς μεν ανδρας γυναικας γινομενȣς τȣς τοτε, τας δε γυναικας ανδρας." (Lib. 11.--770.) Bryant (Analyſis of Ancient Mythology. Vol. 3.--457——486.) hath blown away this hiſtorical chaff with uncommon ability, and induſtry: I cannot abridge his labours, without depriving them of ſtrength, and paring off ſome beauty.

tempted to eſtabliſh their exiſtence. The female form is certainly too delicate to ſupport the regular and ſevere labours of military ſervice, and the two ſexes, united by mutual deſires and mutual wants, could not have ſeparated without the violation of the ſtrongeſt and moſt general laws of nature.——We are told, that Atropates, a Satrap of Media ſent a hundred Amazons to Alexander, who directed them to return into their own country, and to inform their Queen that he intended paying her a viſit. Arrian,[d] who relates the circumſtance, conjectures very plauſibly, that this Satrap ordered ſome of the Barbarian women to dreſs themſelves like the ſuppoſed Amazons, on purpoſe to amuſe the Macedonian Monarch, and that the epiſode of Thaleſtris was founded on this piece of pleaſantry.

The conſpiracy and death of Philotas, are related in the moſt intereſting and pathetic manner by Q. Curtius, and the paſſage is indeed the moſt brilliant morſel of his work. There is a noble flow of eloquence in the ſpeech of Philotas, and the affecting apoſtrophe to Parmenio, deſerves the warmeſt admiration. "Muſt[e] you

[d] "Ενταυθα λεγουσιν ὁτι Ατροπατης ὁ της Μηδειας σατραπης γυναικας ἑκατον αυτω εδωκε, ταυτας φασκων ειναι των Αμαζονων· καὶ ταυτας σκευη ανδρων ἱππεων εςαλμενας, πλην γε δε ὁτι τελειξεις αυτι δορατων εφορεν, καὶ ἀντι ασπιδων πελτας·——Ει δε ἱππικας δη τινας γυναικας Ατροπατης εδειξεν Αλεξανδρω, βαρβαρους τινας αλλας γυναικας ἱππευειν ησκημενας δοκω ὁτι εδειξεν, ες τον λεγομενον δη των Αμαζονων εςαλμενας." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506——508.

[e] "Ergo, cariſſime pater, et propter me morieris, et mecum. Ego tibi vitam adimo, ego ſenectutem tuam exſtinguo! Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adverſantibus Diis? an ut hos ex me

you then, my dear father, not only die for me, but alſo with me? I am the unhappy wretch, that take away your life, and put a period to your old age! Why did you beget me in the diſpleaſure of the gods? I cannot determine whether my youth be more miſerable, or your grey hairs: I am ſnatched away in the bloom of my years, and the executioner muſt put an end to your days, whom the courſe of nature would have taken out of the way, had fortune had but a little patience."[f] Yet theſe beauties would undoubtedly have been introduced with more propriety into any other work than hiſtory, which ought only to admit the cold and correct truth, and ſhould convince by a rational appeal to the underſtanding, without attempting to dazzle and ſeduce it by any ornaments. Stripping the narrative of its adventitious decorations, are we to collect from it, that Philotas was really guilty of the treaſon, with which he was accuſed? his defence by the Latin hiſtorian apparently proves his innocence, notwithſtanding we are afterwards told, that his execution did not merit the pity and commiſeration of his friends.[g] It may be difficult to reconcile the cruel

me fructus perciperes, qui te manent? Neſcio, adoleſcentia mea miſerior eſt, an ſenectus tua: ego in ipſo robore ætatis eripior; tibi carnifex ſpiritum adimet, quem ſi fortuna expectare voluiſſet, natura repoſcebat." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 10. Tom. 1.--461.

[f] Digby's Q. Curtius, Book 6. Vol. 1.--365, 366.

[g] It is fit that the Latin hiſtorian ſhould be heard in his defence. "Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum niſi palam fontes, ſine indignatione totius exercitus non potuiſſent damnari. Itaque anceps quæſtio fuit: dum inficiatus eſt facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur: poſt confeſſionem, Philotas ne amicorum quidem miſericordiam meruit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--472.) The confeſſion of the charge varied the whole face of the proceedings, whether real or imaginary.

cruel indifference to his fate with the regrets of the Macedonian army, at firſt extremely exaſperated againſt Philotas, and afterwards very clamorous againſt the authors of his puniſhment.[h] Perhaps that ſort of oſtentatious vanity, which in the tide of proſperity is apt to aſſume an offenſive aſpect, and irritate the vulgar, though it may be deſpiſed by the Sage, was the only crime of the unfortunate General. Death cancelled in all likelihood the failing, and the Macedonian ſoldiers both forgot his foibles, and recollecting his virtues ſincerely bewailed his loſs.

[h] "Philotan ſicut recentibus ſceleris ejus veſtigiis jure adfectum ſupplicio cenſuerant milites; ita poſtquam deſierat eſſe, quem odiſſent, invidia in miſericordiam vertit. Moverat et claritas juvenis; et patris ejus ſenectus atque orbitas. Primus Aſiam aperuerat regi omnium periculorum ejus particeps; ſemper alterum in Acie cornu defenderat: Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus; et ipſi Alexandro tam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum non alio miniſtro uti mallet. Horum cogitatio ſubibat exercitum; ſeditioſæque voces referebantur ad regem." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 7. C. 1. Tom. 2.--473, 474.) Popular clamours and prejudice, after the ſacrifice of their victim, have frequently been followed by Popular regret, and the

"Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi."

Horat. Od. 24. Lib. 3.

is verified in almoſt every age. Livy ſpeaking of Manlius, gives us one inſtance of it. "Populum brevi, poſtquam periculum ab eo nullum erat, per ſe ipſas recordantem virtutes, deſiderium ejus tenuit." (Lib. 6. C. 20. Tom. 2.--350, 351. Edit. Drakenborch. 4to 1738.) and Corn. Nepos, in his life of Dion, ſupplies us with another. "Hujus de morte ut palam factum eſt, mirabiliter vulgi mutata eſt voluntas. Nam, qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitarant, eundem liberatorem patriæ tyrannique expulſorem prædicabant. Sic ſubito miſericordia odio ſubceſſerat, ut eum ſuo ſanguine, ſi poſſent, ab Acheronte cuperent redimere." (Vit. Dion. C. 10.--325. Ed. 8vo L. B. 1773.) Velleius Paterculus, hath ſubſcribed to the principle and explained the motive, "et his nos obrui, illis inſtrui credimus." (Lib. 2. C. 9. Tom. 1.--379. 8vo L. B. 1779.) though the ſeeds of the ſentiment may be found, as Ruhnkenius obſerves, in Thucydides, (Lib. 2.--118.) and his imitator Salluſt. Bell. Catil. C. 3.--35——37. 4to Amſt. 1792.

In Alexander's addreſs to his troops he accuſed Parmenio, according to Q. Curtius, of being an accomplice with his ſon, who confeſſed, on being put to the torture, that his father was the author of the plot, and to confirm the declaration, made a diſcovery of the criminal projects of Hegelochus.[i] Arrian and Plutarch have not left a ſyllable reſpecting the charge againſt Parmenio, and they are equally ſilent as to Hegelochus. But Diodorus Siculus, who furniſhed to all appearance Q. Curtius with the principal circumſtance of this important accuſation, aſſures us, that Parmenio was one of thoſe condemned to death with his ſon Philotas,[k] and the expreſſion may have induced Juſtin[l] to believe that he ſuffered with him. The error, however, was a groſs one, for this great man was aſſaſſinated a little afterwards in Media, by Cleander, Sitaces and Minidas, the obſequious miniſters of the Macedonian Monarch's cruelty, who ſuſpected Parmenio to have been

[i] "Pater, inquit, meus Hegelocho quam familiariter uſus ſit, non ignoratis. Illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit: ille omnium malorum nobis cauſa fuit. Nam quum primum Jovis filium ſe ſalutari juſſit rex, id indigne ferens ille, hunc igitur regem agnoſcimus, inquit, qui Philippum dedignatur patrem? actum eſt de nobis, ſi iſta perpeti poſſumus." (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--466, 467.) Admitting this confeſſion to have been made, there are ſtill doubts of its truth, for we are told in the preceding ſentence, "Philotas, verone an mendacio liberare ſe a cruciatu voluerit, anceps conjectura eſt, quoniam et vera confeſſis, et falſa dicentibus, idem doloris finis oſtenditur."—The ſtrongeſt of all arguments againſt the uſe of Torture.

[k] "Πολλων δε ρηθεντων λογων, οι Μακεδονες κατεγνωσαν τε Φιλωτε και των καταιτιαθεντων θανατον· εν οις ὑπηρχε Παρμενιων· Ὁ πρωτος ειναι δοκων των Αλεξανδρε φιλων, τοτε δε ε παρων, αλλα δοξας δια τε ιδιε υἱε Φιλωτε πεποιησθαι την επιβολην" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--222.

[l] "Parmenio quoque ſenex, dignitate regi proximus, cum Philotâ filio, de utroque prius quæſtionibus habitis, interficitur." Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 5.--312, 313.

been deeply involved in the conſpiracy of Philotas. It is poſſible alſo that Alexander acted on political principles, however oppoſite to thoſe of juſtice, and conſidered the experiment to be a dangerous one, of ſuffering the father to ſurvive his ſon.[m]

Both Philotas and Parmenio, if we are to rely on Juſtin,[n] were put to the torture. It is certain, that the latter at leaſt eſcaped this ignominious treatment; and notwithſtanding the teſtimony of Diodorus Siculus,[o] Plutarch,[p] and Q. Curtius,[q] there are doubts, if even the ſon was expoſed to it. Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus,[r] who

 muſt

m "Επι Παρμενιωνα δε ςαληναι Πολυδαμαντα, ἑνα των ἑταιρων, γραμματα φεροντα παρ Αλεξανδρȣ προς τȣς ςρατηγȣς τȣς εν Μηδια, Κλεανδρον τε, ϗ Σιταλκην, ϗ Μενιδην· ȣ̓τοι γαρ επι της ςρατιας, ἡς ηρχε Παρμενιων, τεταγμενοι ησαν· Και προς τουτων αποθανειν Παρμενιωνα· τυχον μεν, ὁτι ου πιςον εδοκει ειναι Αλεξανδρω, Φιλωτα επιβουλευοντος, μη ξυμμετασχειν Παρμενιωνα τω παιδι τȣ βȣλευματος· τυχον δε ὁτι ει ϗ μη ξυμμετεσχε, σφαλερος ηδη ην περιων Παρμενιων, τȣ παιδος αυτȣ ανηρημενου, εν τοσαυτη ων αξιωσει παρα τη αυτω Αλεξανδρω, ϗ ες το αλλο ςρατευμα μη ὁτι το Μακεδονικον, αλλα ϗ των αλλων ξενων·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 26.--243, 244.

n Lib. 12. C. 5.--213.—the paſſage already cited.

o "Ὁ μεν ȣν Φιλωτας, βασανισθεις προτερον, ϗ ὁμολογησας την επιβουλην, κατα το των Μακεδονων εθος μετα των συγκαταγνωσθεντων εθανατωθη·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--222.

p "Εκ τȣτȣ δε συλληφθεις ανεκρινετο, των ἑταιρων εφεςωτων ταις βασανοις, Αλεξανδρȣ δε κατακȣοντος εξωθεν αυλαιας παρατεταμενης." (Plut. De Vit. Alex. Tom. 1.--693.) A ſtriking inſtance of Royal feeling for one, who had been a confidential friend!

q "Per ultimos deinde cruciatus, utpote damnatus, et inimicis in gratiam regis torquentibus laceratur." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--465.

r "Oú ils rapportoient ſeulement que Philotas avoit etè percè de traits." Arrian had before mentioned ſome circumſtances as related by Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus, but he drops Ariſtobulus, and

muſt have been almoſt ſpectators of the dreadful application, omit it in their memoirs, and Ptolemy ſpeaks only of the death of Philotas, from his having been pierced with darts.

Juſtin[s] is again deceived, when he advances, that Alexander perſonally boaſted of his own exploits at the tragic end of the entertainment, when all the laurels of the Conqueror of Darius withered. Plutarch, on the contrary, informs his readers, that the diſpute aroſe from the recital of ſome verſes compoſed by one Pranicus or Pierio, in which he had made very free with the ancient Officers, who had been unſucceſsful againſt the Barbarians.[t] The Philoſophical

and gives the remaining particulars only on the faith of Ptolemy. "Πτολεμαιος δε ὁ Λαγȣ λεγει. ——————Φιλωταν μεν προσακȣντισθηναι προς των Μακεδονων, ϗ ὁσοι αλλοι μετεσχον αυτω της επιβȣλης." Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 26.--243.

[s] "Solemni die amicos in convivium vocat. Ubi ortâ inter ebrios rerum a Philippo geſtarum mentione, præferre ſe patri ipſe, rerumque ſuarum magnitudinem extollere cælo tenus cæpit, adſentante majore convivarum parte. Itaque cum unus e ſenibus Clitus, fiduciâ amicitiæ regiæ, cujus palmam tenebat, memoriam Philippi tueretur, laudaretque ejus res geſtas, adeo regem offendit, ut telo a ſatellite rapto eumdem in convivio trucidaverit." Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 6.--315, 316.

[t] "Ποτȣ δε νεανικȣ συρραγεντος, ηδετο ποιηματα Πρανικȣ τινος (ὡς δε φασιν ενιοι Πιεριωνος) εις τους ςρατηγȣς πεποιημενα τȣς εναγχος ἡττημενȣς ὑπο των βαρβαρων, επ' αισχυνη ϗ χελωτι· των δε πρεσβυτερων δυσχεραινοντων, ϗ λοιδορȣντων τον τε ποιητην ϗ τον αδοντα, τȣ δε Αλεξανδρȣ ϗ των περι αυτον ἡδεως ακροωμενων ϗ λεγειν κελευοντων· Ὁ Κλειτος ηδη μεθυων, ϗ φυσει τραχυς ων ϗ αυθαδης ηγανακτει, μαλιςα φασκων ȣ καλως εν βαρβαροις ϗ πολεμιοις ὑβριζεσθας Μακεδονας πολυ βελτιονας των γελωτων, ει ϗ δυςυχια κεκρηνται·" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--693.) "Ce recit eſt confirmé par celui de Quinte Curce," concludes the French ſentence. I have omitted it, becauſe Q. Curtius neither mentions Pranicus, nor Pierio, and inſtead of agreeing with Plutarch, he confirms, as far as his authority hath any weight, the relation of Juſtin. "Sollemni et tempeſtivo adhibetur convivio. In quo rex quum multo incaluiſſet mero, immodicus æſtimator ſui, celebrare, quæ geſſerat, cœpit; gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui ſentiebant vera memorari." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--568.

Philoſophical hiſtorian aggravates what fell from Clitus, and endeavours to palliate the atrocity of Alexander's conduct by his provocation,[w] but this will be found, from attentive obſervation, to have been the preciſe period of the change in the Macedonian Monarch's diſpoſition.

Man often ſtruggles to advantage with diſtreſs, and riſes ſuperior to the malignity of fortune: in more favourable moments he frequently becomes its victim. Elate with happineſs and ſwoln with proſperity, he is no longer the maſter of himſelf; the paſſions rage with augmented violence; and the reſolution which exerted itſelf under the preſſure of adverſity, is totally overpowered by its new and more dangerous antagoniſts. Alexander, at the ſummit of earthly grandeur, and commanding, as it were the univerſe, ſoon ceaſed to be diſtinguiſhed by the virtues, which had acquired him the public admiration and eſteem, when he had a formidable rival in Darius, and his ſucceſſes depended on the uncertain fate of war, and the precarious iſſue of numerous battles and engagements.

The hiſtorians of the Macedonian Monarch have not ſufficiently attended to this change in his character, and are rather to be conſidered as his apologiſts. To Plutarch, the objection is more particularly applicable, but the Scripture hath marked with a juſter and more impartial hand the progreſs of his vices, and after having

[w] De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--694. Q. Curtius (Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--568 ——573.) gives a full account of the diſpute, but as to the indiſcreet language, which Clitus repeatedly made uſe of, he coincides with the Greek hiſtorian.

having touched on his conqueſts, hath recorded the melancholy effects, which they produced upon his mind.[x]

Human glory, like the great luminaries of the heavens, hath its phaſes and eclipſes: at one time it is overſhadowed by a few momentary indiſcretions, at another it wholly diſappears, and becomes obſcured by a thick maſs of vices. It is the peculiar province of hiſtory, to obſerve minutely theſe various revolutions, to give a faithful deſcription of them, and to deliver down to poſterity the real characters of the great men whoſe actions it relates, without either leſſening, or adding to their merit.

The death of Calliſthenes called for the tears of Theophraſtus,[y] and indignation of Ariſtotle. Alexander, cruel and vindictive, now lent a ready ear to every injurious tale or ſlanderous accuſation, and under the pretence of the conſpiracy of Hermolaus, embraced the opportunity of ruining the diſciple of his ancient maſter. Some ſatirical expreſſions and imprudent cenſures, which fell in an unguarded moment from the philoſopher, irritated the Macedonian Monarch, and provoked his reſentment.[z] Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus

x "Και ὑψωθη, καὶ επηρθη ἡ καρδια αυτου." 1. Maccab. C. 1. 3.

y "Ut Theophraſtus interitum deplorans Calliſthenis, ſodalis fui." Cicero. Tuſcul. Queſt. Lib. 3. Sect. 10. Tom. 2.--307.

z "Παρρησιαςικωτερον λαλουντα τω βασιλει, καὶ μη πειθομενον αυτω." (Diogen. Laert. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--271. Ed. Meibom. 4to Amſt. 1709.) "Gravitas viri et prompta libertas inviſa erat regi, quaſi ſolus Macedonas paratos ad tale obſequium moraretur." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 5. Tom.

lus[a] ſuppoſe, that Hermolaus and his accomplices had imbibed their rebellious principles from Calliſthenes, whoſe lectures they had attended. All the other hiſtorians aſſure us, on the contrary, that his intimacy with Hermolaus was the ſole reaſon for the ſuſpicions of his loyalty, and that trivial and unfounded as they were, his enemies magnified them, by their hatred and malevolence, into proofs of guilt.[b] In the opinion of Q. Curtius, Calliſthenes was innocent,[c] and his defence of Hermolaus, though it may be perhaps

Tom. 2.--596.) "Haudquaquam aulæ et adſentantium adcommodatus ingenio." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618.) "Καλλισθενης λεγων μεν ην δυνατος, και μεγας, νεν δε ουκ εχεν." (Ariſtot. apud Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.) Such was the prevailing opinion, and there remains little doubt that Calliſthenes owed his ruin to the rigid auſterity of his manners, and a want of that ſupple and accommodating habit, which, like old age, as deſcribed by Catullus,

"Omnibus omnia annuit,"

209. Ed. Vulpii. 4to 1737.

and is an eſſential requiſite in every corrupt and luxurious Court.

a "Αριστοβουλος μεν λεγει, ὁτι και Καλλισθενην επαρσαι σφας εφασαν εις το τολμημα· και Πτολεμαιος ὡσαυτως λεγει." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--293.

b "Οι δε πολλοι δε ταυτη λεγουσιν, αλλα δια μισος γαρ το ηδη ον προς Καλλισθενην εξ Αλεξανδρε, και ὁτι ὁ Ερμολαος εις τα μαλιστα επιτηδειος ην τω Καλλισθενει, δε χαλεπως πιστευσαι τα χειρω ὑπερ Καλλισθενους Αλεξανδρον· Ηδη δε τινες και τα ανεγραψαν· τον Ερμολαον προαχθεντα εις τους Μακεδονας ὁμολογειν τε επιβουλευσαι·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--293.

c "Initi conſilii in caput regis innoxius: (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618.) but he admits that the philoſopher lent a ready ear to ſome improper cenſures of his Sovereign. "Calliſthenes non ut participem facinoris nominatum eſſe, conſtabat; ſed ſolitum puerorum fermonibus vituperantium criminantiumque regem faciles aures præbere." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 6. Tom. 2.--607.) Plutarch, notwithſtanding, hath effectually vindicated Calliſthenes. "Και τοι των περι Ερμολαον ουδεις ουδε δια της εσχατης αναγκης τον Καλλισθενους κατειπεν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.

haps too ingenious, leaves no doubt whatever of the injuſtice that was done to him.[d]

The Latin hiſtorian adds, that Calliſthenes was condemned without being heard in his defence.[e] But this idea ſeems to be contradicted by the evidence of Ariſtotle, and we learn that his ancient ſcholar was condemned by the Macedonians,[f] who had preſerved their right of trial for ſtate crimes, and had carefully excluded the Royal authority from any ſhare in their deliberations.[g] If the Macedonians tried Calliſthenes, the ſentence muſt have been conformable to their laws, and the philoſopher muſt have been either ſtoned to death, or pierced with darts,[h] inſtead of expiring on the croſs, according to Ptolemy;[i] being confined in a cage,

[d] Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 7. Tom. 2.--608——612.

[e] "Calliſthenes quoque tortus interiit.————————Itaque nullius cædes majorem apud Græcos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod præditum optimis moribus artibuſque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat, quum interfecto Clito mori perſeveraret; non tantum occiderit, ſed etiam torſerit indictâ quidem cauſâ." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618, 619.

[f] "Οργιζομενε τε δημε————————τωραοι γαρ γιγνονται, ὁταν εις αλλον την οργην αναλωσωσιν· διον συνεβη επι Εργοφιλε· μαλλον γαρ χαλεπαινοντες, η Καλλισθενει αφησαν δια το Καλλισθενες τη τωροτεραια καταγνωναι θανατον·" Ariſtot. Rhetor. Lib. 2. C. 3. Ariſt. Opera. Tom. 3.--751.

[g] "De capitalibus rebus vetuſto Macedonum more inquirebat exercitus, in pace erat vulgi. Nihil poteſtas regum valebat; niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 8. Tom. 1. --444, 445.

[h] Which were Macedonian puniſhments, as we learn from Q. Curtius (Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--470, 471.) and Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 26.--243.

[i] "Πτολεμαιος δε ὁ Λαγε γραφλωθεντα κ) κρεμασθεντα αποθανειν." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--294.

cage, and dying from filth and vermin, by the report of others; and ſtill leſs being expoſed to a lion,[k] or ſhut up in a cavern after having the noſe, lips, and ears cut off,[l] which were the common puniſhments of the Eaſtern and barbarous[m] nations. Ariſtobulus related that Calliſthenes was carried a priſoner, and in chains, along with the army, and that he died a natural death;[n] and Chares confirms this account, and aſſures us, that he died in irons after a confinement of ſeven months, when Alexander beſieged the city of the Malli.[o] The Prince in a letter to Antipater, informs him, "The Macedonians have ſtoned the young men to death. As for the Sophiſt I will puniſh him myſelf, and thoſe that ſent him too, nor ſhall the towns that harboured the conſpirators

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[k] "Εν σιδηρα περιηγετο γαλεαγρα, φθειριων κ᾽ ακομιςῳ· κ᾽ τελῳ λεοντι παραβληθεις, ἑτω κατεςρεψεν" Diogen. Laert. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--271, 272.

[l] Quippe cum Alexander Magnus Calliſthenem philoſophum, propter ſalutationis Perſicæ interpellatum morem, inſidiarum, quæ ſibi paratæ fuerant, conſcium fuiſſe iratus finxiſſet; eumque, truncatis creduliter omnibus membris, abſciſſiſque auribus ac naſo labiiſque, deforme ac miſerandum ſpectaculum reddidiſſet: inſuper cum cane in caveâ clauſum ad metum ceterorum circumferret. &c." Juſtin. Lib. 15. C. 3.--396.

[m] See Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--213.—Ammian. Marcellinus. Lib. 30. C. 8.--656. Ed. Gronov. 4to 1693.—Juſtin. Lib. 1. C. 10.--51.—Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1. --108.

[n] "Καλλισθενην δε Αριςοβυλῳ μεν λεγει δεδεμενον εν πεδαις ξυμπεριαγεσθαι τη ςρατια, επειτα νοσω τελευτησαι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--294.

[o] "Χαρης δε, μετα την συλληψιν ἑπτα μηνας φυλατθεσθαι δεδεμενον, ὡς εν τω συνεδριω κριθειη, παρουτῳ Αριςοτελης· εν αἰς ἡμεραις Αλεξανδρῳ εν Μαλλοις Οξυδρακαις ετρωθη περι την Ινδιαν αποθανειν ὑπερ παχυν γενομενον κ᾽ φθειριασαντα." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

ſpirators eſcape."[p] Plutarch, who preſerved this fragment of a letter, adds, that ſeveral authors believed, that Calliſthenes finiſhed his days by a natural death in priſon.[q] The writers of antiquity, who have taken notice of the death of the philoſopher, do not mention any extraordinary puniſhment, that he ſuffered,[r] and their ſilence ſeems to ſtrengthen the opinion of Ariſtobulus and Chares. Alexander, with his conſummate political knowledge, could not have been ſo inconſiderate as to diſplay before the Macedonians, the refined modes of torture invented by the people, that they had conquered. From this prudential ſyſtem the execution of Calliſthenes was probably ſuſpended, and the hazard of another inſurrection of the troops avoided, who might have conſidered the philoſopher as a victim ſacrificed on account of his adherence and attachment to the cuſtoms of their country.

Alexander hath been accuſed with ſtrict juſtice of ſhedding the blood of his beſt friends,[s] but malice may have augmented the number

[p] Langhorn's Plutarch. Vol. 4.--299. "Οι μεν Παιδες (φησιν) ὑπο των Μακεδονων κατελευσθησαν· τον δε σοφιςην εγω κολασω, κ᾽ τες εκπεμψαντας αυτον, κ᾽ τες ὑποδεχομενες ταις πολεσι τες εμοι επιβελευοντας" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

[q] "Αποθανειν δε αυτον, ὁι μεν ὑπο Αλεξανδρε κρεμασθεντα λεγουσιν, ὁι δε, εν πεδαις δεδεμενον κ᾽ νοσησαντα." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

[r] Dial. Mortuorum. 13. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1.--394.—Val. Max. Lib. 9. C. 3.--817.—Ed. Torrenii. 4to 1726.—Excerpta ex Polybio. Lib. 12.---Seneca. Quæſt. Nat. Lib. 6. Tom. 2.--805. Ed. 8vo Amſt. 1672.

[s] Plutarch. De Multitudine Amicorum. Tom. 2.--96.---Dialog. Mortuorum. 13, 14. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1.--394——396.---Tit. Liv. Lib. 9. C. 18. Tom. 2.--907.---Arrian. Exped. Alex.

number of thoſe, who were ſuppoſed to have been put to death from his ſuſpicions and caprices. Juſtin pretends, that Lyſimachus, who mounted the throne after Alexander's deceaſe, had been expoſed to a lion, on account of his connections with Calliſthenes,[t] under whom he ſtudied, and that he diſpatched the ravenous beaſt, by thruſting his arm, wrapped in his mantle, down its throat. The origin of this fable, which was adopted by ſeveral hiſtorians, was clearly ſeen by Q. Curtius, who tells us, that Alexander, on a hunting party in Sogdia, was in great danger from a lion, and that Lyſimachus ruſhed in to his aſſiſtance.[w] This circumſtance might eaſily have given riſe to the fable, but far from being expoſed to the wild beaſt as a puniſhment, the danger of Lyſimachus was both voluntary and accidental. Plutarch even reckons Lyſimachus amongſt the perſons who accuſed Calliſthenes,[x] and on

 this

Alex. Lib. 7. C. 4.--483.---Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. Lib. 9.--598.--De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--697.

[t] "Lyſimachus, audire Calliſthenem, et præcepta ab eo virtutis accipere ſolitus, miſertus tanti viri, non culpæ, ſed libertatis pœnas pendentis, venenum ei in remedia calamitatium dedit. Quod adeo ægre Alexander tulit, ut eum objici ferociſſimo leoni juberet. Sed cum ad conſpectum ejus concitatus leo impetum feciſſet, manum amiculo involutam Lyſimachus in os leonis immerſit, adreptâque linguâ, feram exanimavit." (Juſtin. Lib. 15. C. 3.--396, 397.) Valerius Maximus alſo hath the expreſſion of "Lyſimachus leoni objectus." Lib. 9. C. 3.--817.

[w] "Alexander cum toto exercitu ingreſſus agitari undique feras juſſit. Inter quas quum leo magnitudinis raræ ipſum regem invaſurus incurreret; forte Lyſimachus, qui poſtea regnavit, proximus Alexandro, venabulum objicere feræ cœperat. Quo rex repulſo, et abire juſſo, adjecit, tam a ſemet uno quam a Lyſimacho leonem interfici poſſe. Lyſimachus enim quondam cum venaretur in Syriâ, occiderat eximiæ magnitudinis feram ſolus: ſed lævo humero uſque ad oſſa laceratus ad ultimum periculum pervenerat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--566.

[x] "Επειτα Λυσιμαχοι κ) Αγνωνες επεφυοντο, φασκοντες περιιεναι τον σοφιστην, ως επι καλαλυσει τυραννιδ@· μεγα φρονουντα, κ) συντρεχειν προς αυτον τα μειρακια, κ) περιεπειν, ως μονον ελευθερον εν τοσαυταις μυριασιν" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

this ſuppoſition, he could not have forfeited the Macedonian Monarch's favour from an undue partiality to the philoſopher, and an improper intimacy with him.

The condemnation of Agathocles of Samos, reſts only on the ſame weak foundation. The tears, which he dropped over the aſhes of Hephæſtion, could not have been criminal in Alexander's eyes, who had ſhed them in abundance on the ſame occaſion; beſides, Lucian is the ſingle author, that hath tranſmitted to us this dubious anecdote.[y]

Alexander felt ſome poignant regret on the death of Clitus, it was, however, of ſhort duration, and he ſoon abandoned himſelf again to the ſame vicious exceſſes, which have ſo diſgraced his character. Adoration was the firſt object of his wiſhes, but the manly eloquence of Calliſthenes, had checked the criminal inclinations, which the tribe of his obſequious ſycophants was well diſpoſed to gratify. Yet the motives of the Macedonians for refuſing him their adoration, though perfectly proper, were not taken up on juſt principles, or from ſound diſtinctions. The Perſians had been always accuſtomed to render their kings honours purely civil, and the Greeks deceived by this external ſhew of veneration, which was ſtill in uſe with the Eaſtern nations, conſidered

y "Τοτε ϗ Αγαθοκλης ὁ Σαμιος ταξιαρχων παρ Αλεξανδρω, ϗ τιμωμενος παρ'αυτω, μικρω δειν συγκατειρχθη λεοντι, διαβληθεις ὁτι δακρυσειε παριων τον Ἡφαιστιωνος ταφον." Lucian. Calumn. non tem. cred. Tom. 3.--149.

ſidered it as a mark of a religious and profane worſhip, with which they ought not to comply. This extraordinary homage, which the Perſian monarchs appeared to receive from their ſubjects, aroſe from their peculiar tenets, and the belief that their kings, according to the Zend-Aveſta, were animated with ſome particles of the ſacred fire, which is perpetually burning in the preſence of Ormazd. [z]——The great author of the ſpirit of laws, pretends that Alexander, "aſſumed the manners of the Perſians, that he might not chagrin them too much by obliging them to conform to thoſe of the Greeks," [a] and Arrian hath likewiſe apologized for the Macedonian Monarch's conduct on this occaſion, [b] but it is ſtill liable to

[z] Zend-Aveſta. Tom. 3.--607. This ſacred fire, immediately preceded the Perſian monarchs in their proceſſions, as may be learned from Xenophon: "Και τυρ οπισθεν αυτω επ'εσχαρας μεγαλης ανδρες ειποντο φεροντες. Επι δε τουτοις, ηδη αυτῳ εκ των πυλων προφαινετο ὁ Κυρῳ." (Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--595.) and Ammian. Marcellinus informs us it was ſuppoſed to have originally fallen from heaven. "Feruntque ſi juſtum eſt credi, etiam ignem cælitus lapſum apud ſe ſempiternis foculis cuſtodiri, cujus portionem exiguam ut fauſtam præiſſe quondam Aſiaticis regibus dicunt." Lib. 23. C. 6.--406.

[a] Nugent's Tranſlation. Vol. 1.--212. "Il prit les mœurs des Perſes, pour ne pas deſoler des Perſes, en leur faiſant prendre les mœurs des Grecs." Monteſquieu, de l'Eſprit des Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1.--198.

[b] "Ὡς εμοιγε ϗ ἡ Περσικὴ σκευη σοφισμα ειναι δοκει, προς τε τους βαρβαρους, ὡς μη παντη αλλοτριον αυτων φαινεσθαι τον βασιλεα· ϗ προς τους Μακεδονας, ὡς αποτροφην τινα ειναι αυτω απο της οξυτητος τε ϗ ὑβρεως Μακεδονικης." (Arrian. Lib. 7. C. 29.--544, 545.) Yet the Macedonian troops had openly expreſſed ſtrong ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction, at their Monarch's adoption of the Perſian dreſs and luxury. "Hoc luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palam averſabatur, totiſque caſtris unus omnium ſenſus ac ſermo erat, plus amiſſum victoria quam bello quæſitum eſſe. Tum maxime vinci ipſos, dedique alienis moribus et externis: tantæ moræ pretium, domos quaſi in captivo habitu reverſuros: pudere jam ſui. Regem victis quam victoribus ſimiliorem ex Macedoniæ imperatore Darii ſatrapen factum." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--427, 428.) The reaſons for their diſſatisfaction, Q. Curtius had before explained.

to objection. The adoption of the cuſtoms of a conquered nation, is a kind of inſult on the victorious troops, and deſtroys at once the happy confidence of ſuperiority, which is the life of military enthuſiaſm, and the firſt cauſe of thoſe powerful exertions, which are generally deciſive and ſucceſsful. Aſiatic luxury and the Eaſtern manners, could not fail of enervating the courage of the Macedonian army, and of ſtifling that noble ardour, which is fanned into a blaze by the reaction of the ſoul, on the objects, which have forcibly affected it. "It was not prudent," as an able politician hath obſerved, "to ſhock the Macedonians, in order to gratify the Perſians. Wherever the manners of a conquered nation are adopted by the conquerors, their ruin follows, and is certain. Is it poſſible that Alexander was either ignorant of this common maxim, or conſidered the degradation and corruption of the Macedonians as the foundation of his power? the Aſiatics, who had been uſed to creep under the yoke of deſpotiſm, might ſubmit to their chains with ſome docility, but the Greeks muſt have required management." [c]

Alexander's hiſtorians have let only a few anecdotes eſcape from them, that bare to open to view the vices of their Hero, which it

ed to us. "Perſarum ſpolia geſtare dicebat: ſed cum illis quoque mores induerat: ſuperbiamque habitus animi inſolentia ſequebatur." Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--425.

[c] "Pour plaire aux Perſes etoit-il prudent de choquer les Macedoniens? Donner aux vainqueurs les mœurs des vaincus, c'eſt preparer leur ruin: c'ſt la rendre certaine; et l'on veut qu' Alexandre, ignorant cette verite commune, ait regardé la corruption et l'aviliſſement des Macedoniens comme le fondement de ſa puiſſance: les Aſiatiques accoutumès à ramper ſous les deſpotiſme, devoient porter leur chaine avec docilité; les Grecs ſeuls meritoient des menagements." Obſerv. ſur l'Hiſt. de la Grece, par M. l'Abbe Mably. 225, &c.

it was their conſtant ſtudy to conceal. Arrian, though the leaſt culpable[d] in this reſpect, is not entirely excuſable, but Ariſtobulus hath the aſſurance to advance, that the Macedonian Monarch never exceeded in the pleaſures of the table, except in compliment to his friends, and that he ſeldom made free with wine.[e] This is far from coinciding with the teſtimony of many writers of Alexander's life, and the expreſſions of Menander,[f] prove that the Prince's intemperance was even become proverbial. Chares of Mitylene relates, that the Macedonian Conqueror having ordered ſome gymnaſtic games on the funeral of Calanus, in which ſome prizes were offered for the greateſt drinkers, thirty-five of theſe heroes died in this honourable field of battle, and ſix others expired a few moments afterwards in their tents.[g] Promachus carried off the firſt prize which was a talent.

[d] Where Arrian could not defend, he has endeavoured to palliate.—See Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 29, 30.--543——545.

[e] "Και οἱ ποτοι δε, ὡς λεγει Αριστοβουλος, ου του οινου ἑνεκα μακροι αυτω εγιγνοντο (ου γαρ πινειν πολυν οινον Αλεξανδρον) αλλα φιλοφροσυνης της εις τους ἑταιρους" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 29.--545.) "Ην δε καὶ προς οινον ἡττον η εδοκει καταφερης· εδοξε δε δια τον χρονον· ὁν ου πινων μαλλον η λαλων ἑιλκεν, εφ' ἑκαστης κυλικος αιει μακρον τινα λογον διατιθεμενος, καὶ ταυτα, πολλης σχολης ουσης." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--677.

[f] "Μενανδρος δ'εν Κολακι φησι,

Κοτυλας χωρουν δεκα εν Καππαδοκια.
Κουδυλον χρυσουν στρουθια τρις επιον μεστον γε
Αλεξανδρου πλεον πεπωκας του βασιλεως·
Ουκ ελαττον ου μα την Αθηνην μεγαγε·"

Athenæus. Lib. 10.--434.

[g] "Χαρης δ'ὁ Μιτυληναιος εν ταις περι Αλεξανδρον ἱστοριαις, περι Καλανου ειπων του Ινδου φιλοσοφου,——ὁτι καὶ επι τω μνηματι αυτου διεθηκεν Αλεξανδρος γυμνικον αγωνα και μουσικον εγκωμιων· εθηκε δε φησι καὶ δια την φιλοινιαν των Ινδων, καὶ ακροποσιας αγωνα· καὶ ην αθλον τω μεν πρωτω ταλαντον, τω δε δευτερα τριακοντα

talent.——Nicobulus aſſures us alſo, that Alexander at a ſupper with Medius, drank as much as twenty other gueſts who partook of the entertainment, and that on retiring he fell into a profound ſleep,[h] a ſtrong ſymptom undoubtedly of ſobriety.

Plutarch recedes the leaſt from his profeſſed character of Alexander's apologiſt, and he would have us to believe, that the Prince highly diſapproved of the effeminacy of Agnon and Philotas.[i] Ælian in oppoſition tells us, that he had perſonally corrupted them,[k] and the opinion is confirmed by the teſtimony of Agatharcides of Gnidus,[l] and the letter, which Alexander wrote to the inhabitants

κοντα μναι, ϗ τω τριτω δεκα· των ων πιοντων τον οινον παραχρημα μεν ετελευτησαν ὑπο τȣ ψυχȣς τριακοντα και πεντε· μικρον δε διαλιποντες εν ταις σκηναις ἑξ· ὁ δε πλειςον πιων ϗ νικησας επιε μεν ακρατȣ χοας τεσσαρας· εκαλειτο δε Προμαχȣ· (Athenæus. Lib. 10.--436, 437.) The Χοαι τεσσαρες were ſomething ſhort of two gallons, but the proweſs of Proteas was as remarkable. Athenæus. Lib. 10.--434.

h "Νικοβȣλη δε————φησιν, ὁτι παρα Μεδειω τω Θεσσαλω δειπνων Αλεξανδρȣ, εικοσιν ϗσιν εν τω συμποσιω, πασιν προυπιε παρα παντων τα ισα λαμβανων, ϗ αναςας τȣ συμποσιȣ, μετ'ȣ πολυ ανεπαυετο." Athenæus. Lib. 10.--434.

i "Επει δε τȣς περι ἀυτον ἑωρα παντα πασιν εκτετρυφηκοτας, ϗ φορτικȣς ταις διαιταις, ϗ πολιτελειαις ονταις, ὡςε Αγνωνα μεν Τηιον αργυρȣς εν ταις κρηπισιν ἡλȣς φορειν, Λεοννατω δε πολλαις καμηλοις απ' Αιγυπτȣ κονιν εις τα γυμνασια παρακομιζεσθαι, Φιλωτα δε, προς θηρας ςαδιων ἑκατον αυλαιας γεγονεναι, μυρω δε χρομενȣς ιεναι προς αλειμμα ϗ λυτρον ὁσȣς ȣδε ελαιω, τριπτας δε ϗ κατευναςας περιαγομενȣς· επιτιμησεν πραως, ϗ φιλοσοφως· (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--688.) Athenæus gives nearly the ſame oſtentatious account, (Lib. 12.--539.) from whom it deſcended moſt probably to Plutarch and Ælian.

k "Ὁτι διεθρυπτε τȣς ἑταιρȣς Αλεξανδρȣ, τρυφαν επιχωρων αυτοις· Ειγε ϗ Αγνων χρυσȣς ἡλȣς εν ταις κρηπισιν εφορει." (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 9. C. 3. Tom. 1.--570.) Whether theſe nails or ſtuds were golden ones or ſilver ones, the vanity of Agnon was equally ridiculous.

l "Αγαθαρχιδης δε ὁ Κνιδιος εν ογδοη Ασιατικων ἱςορει, ὡς οἱ ἑςιωντες Αλεξανδρον τον Φιλιππȣ των φιλων,

inhabitants of Ionia, and his orders for a quantity of purple, with which he meant to clothe his friends.[m] Inſtead of laying any reſtraint on luxury, it was authorized by his own example, and, according to Phylarchus, the daily expences of the Royal houſehold were enormous.[n] The Prince's tent alone contained a hundred beds, the pillars which ſupported them were incruſted with gold, and the ceiling was beautified and embelliſhed with the ſame extravagance.[o] When he gave audience, he was ſeated on a throne of gold, ſurrounded with numerous guards, and Iphippus of Olinthus adds, that the floor was ſprinkled with delicious liquors and perfumes, and that myrrh and all kinds of the moſt odoriferous incenſe were burnt before him.[p] This is certainly no

 proof

λων, το μελλον παρατεθησεσθαι των τραγήματων περιεχρυσων· ὁτε δε θελοιεν αναλασκειν, περιελοντες τον χρυσον ἁμα τοις αλλοις εξεβαλον, ἱνα της μεν πολυτελειας ὁι φιλοι θεαται γενωνται, ὁι δε οικεται κυριοι·" Athenæus. Lib. 4.--155,

[m] "Εγραψε δε κ τοτε Αλεξανδρ τοις εν Ιωνια πολεσιν, κ πρωτοις Χιοις, ὁπως αυτω πορφυραν αποστειλωσιν· ηθελε γαρ τους ἑταιρους ἁπαντας ἁλυργας ενδυσαι στολας." Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539, 540.

[n] Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539.

[o] "Αυτω δε Αλεξανδρω ἡ μεν σκηνη ην κλινων ἑκατον· χρυσοι δε κιονες πεντηκοντα διειληφεσαν αυτην, κ τον οροφον αυτης ανειχον· Αυτ δε ὁ οροφ διαχρυσ ην, κ εκπεποιητο ποικιλμασι πολυτελεσι· κ πρωτοι μεν Περσαι πεντακοσιοι, ὁι καλεμενοι Μηλοφοροι, περι αυτην εντ εἱστηκεισαν, πορφυρας κ μηλινας ησθημενοι στολας· επ' αυτοις δε τοξαται χιλιοι, φλογινα ενδεδυκοτες κ ὑσγινοβαφη· προ δε τουτων ὁι αργυρασπιδες πεντακοσιοι Μακεδονες· Εν μεση δε τη σκηνη χρυσους ετιθετο διφρ, κ επ' αυτω καθημεν Αλεξανδρ εσχηματιζε, περιεστωτων αυτω παντοθεν των σωματοφυλακων. Περικει δε την σκηνην περιβολ, ενθα ησαν Μακεδονες χιλιοι, κ Περσαι μυριοι·" (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 9. C. 3.--571, 572, 573.) See alſo Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539.

[p] "Εραινε δε ὁ Αλεξανδρ κ μυρω σπευδαιω, κ οινω ευωδει το δαπεδον· εθυμιατο δε αὐτω σμυρνα, κ τα αλλα θυμιαματα." Athenæus. Lib. 12.--537, 538.

proof of Alexander's moderation in his pleaſures, of which Arrian[q] wiſhes to perſuade us, and is not calculated to authenticate what Monteſquieu aſſerts. "He[r] was cloſe and reſerved in his private expences————In regulating his houſehold, he was the private Macedonian."[s] It ſeems extraordinary, that this acute and penetrating writer ſhould have imagined Alexander found the means of augmenting his power by his ſtrict frugality, and of furniſhing himſelf with reſources from his private œconomy. Such perhaps might have been the caſe when he firſt commenced hoſtilities againſt the Perſian empire, and his policy, and even his neceſſities pointed out to him a line of conduct very different from that, which he followed after the battle of Gaugamele. From this period of his life, he diſplayed a luxurious parade and pomp, which equally inſulted the ſeverer manners of his own country, and the misfortunes of the people that he had conquered. Nothing had perhaps hitherto reached the magnificence on the celebration of the marriages between the Macedonians and the Perſian women. No leſs than ninety-two nuptial beds were prepared in one ſpacious chamber, and the coverture of each was valued at twenty minæ.[t]—Alexander's was diſtinguiſhed by feet of

[q] "Χρηματων δε ες μεν ηδονας τας αυτω, φειδωλοτατος· ες δε ευποιιαν των στελας, αφθονωτατος." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--543.

[r] "Sa main ſe fermoit pour les depenſes priveés————falloit-il regler ſa maiſon? C'etoit un Macedonien." Monteſquieu de l'Eſprit des Loix. Livre 10. C. 14.--200.

[s] Nugent's Tranſlation. Vol. 1.--214.

[t] 64*l*. 11*s*. 8*d*. ſterling.

of ſolid gold.—All the courtiers and a great number of ſtrangers were invited to the entertainment on this occaſion, and it was given in a tent, ſupported by columns nearly thirty feet in height, plated with gold and ſparkling with jewels and precious ſtones. [v] The ableſt tragedians and comedians, and moſt celebrated muſicians aſſiſted at the feſtival, and Athenæus hath preſerved their names which he extracted from Chares, as well as the particulars that have been mentioned. [w]

Plutarch hath endeavoured to frame ſome little excuſe for Alexander's adoption of the manners and habits of the nations that he conquered, and attempts to juſtify him, by ſaying, the dreſs which he made uſe of was a medium between that of Perſia and of Media. [x]

 But

[v] "Χαρης δ' εν τη δεκατη των περι Αλεξανδρον ἱστοριων, ὁτε φησιν, ἑιλε Δαρειον, γαμους συνετελεσιν ἑαυτῳ, καὶ των αλλων φιλων ενενηκοντα καὶ δυο θαλαμους κατασκευασαμενος εν τω αυτω τοπω· ην δε ὁ οικος ἑκατονταπηχυς, εν ᾧ ἑκαστη ην κλινη, κεκοσμημενη σολη γαμικη εικοσι μνων αργυρων, ἡ δε αυτη χρυσοπους ην· συμπερελαβε δε εις το συμποσιον, καὶ τους ιδιοξενους ἁπαντας· καὶ κατεκλινεν αντιπροσωπους ἑαυτῳ τε καὶ τοις αλλοις νυμφιοις την τε λοιπην δυναμιν, πεζην τε και ναυτικην, και τας προεδρειας, και τους παρεπιδημουντας εν τη αυλη. κατεσκευασο δε ὁ οικος πολυτελως και μεγαλοπρεπως ἱματιοις τε και οθονιοις πολυτελεσιν· ὑπο δε ταυτα πορφυροις και φοινικοις χρυσοφασιν· τους δε μενειν την σκηνην ὑπεκειτο κιονες εικοσαπηχεις περιχρυσοι καὶ διαλιθοι καὶ περιαργυροι· περιεβεβλητο δ' εν τω περιβολω πολυτελεις αυλαιαι ζωωτοι, και διαχρυσοι, καινονας εχουσαι περιχρυσους καὶ περιαργυρους· της δε αυλης ην το περιμετρον σταδιοι τεσσαρες'" Athenæus. Lib. 12.—538.

[w] "Les plus habiles hiſtoriens et les muſiciens celebres." The band, according to Athenæus, (Lib. 12.—538, 539.) conſiſted of the "Θαυματοποιοι, Ραψωδοι, Φιλοκιθαριςαι, Αυλωδοι, Αυληται, Διονυσοκολακες, Αλεξανδροκολακες, Τραγωδαι, Κωμωδοι, Ψαλτης," and ſome chorus-ſingers and vocal performers. The hiſtorians are not mentioned, and I have omitted them. The Baron de St. Croix may have perhaps included them under the Ραψωδοι.

[x] "Ενεδυσατο την βαρβαρικην σολην, ειτε βουλομενος αὐτον συνοικειουν τοις επιχωριοις νομοις, ὡς μεγα προς ἑξημερωσιν ανθρωπων το συνηθες καὶ ὁμοφυλον· ειτ' απορεια τις υφειτο της προσκυνησεως αὐτη τοις Μακεδο-

σι,

But the Conqueror carried his extravagance much further, and Iphippus of Olinthus relates, that he ſometimes appeared at theſe feſtive entertainments in purple, with the horns of Jupiter Ammon, and that he was drawn in a car with a Perſian mantle over his ſhoulders, and the quiver of Diana at his back. Amongſt his friends he appeared ſometimes like Mercury, with feathers to his heels and a Caduceus in his hand, which he exchanged for the lion's ſkin and club of Hercules.[y] "Hills and mountains," obſerves Plutarch, "are not eaſily taken by ſtratagem or ambuſcade, but a weak mind, ſwoln big and lofty by fortune, birth, or the like, lies naked to the aſſaults of every mean and petty aggreſſor."[z] Alexander was ſoon captivated with the groſſeſt flattery, and his deſpotic temper prevented his friends from approaching him either with freedom or ſincerity. Maximus Tyrius ſeems to indicate,

σι, κατα μικρον ανασχεσθαι την εκδιαιτησιν αυτȣ ϗ μεταβολην εθιζομενοις· ȣ μην την γε Μηδικην προςηκατο πανταπασιν, βαρβαρικην ϗ αλλοκοτον ȣσαν, ȣδε αναξυριδας, ȣδε κανδυν, ȣδε τιαραν ελαβεν, αλλα εν μεσω τινα της Περσικης ϗ της Μηδικης, μιξαμενος ευπως, ατυφοτεραν μεν εκεινης, ταυτης δε σοβαρωτερον ȣσαν."

De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

[y] "Εφιππος δε φησιν, ὡς Αλεξανδρος ϗ τας ἱερας εσθητας εφορει εν τοις δειπνοις, ὁτε μεν την τȣ Αμμωνος πορφυριδα, ϗ περισχιδεις ϗ κερατα, καθαπερ ὁ Θεος· ὁτε δε ϗ της Αρτεμιδος, ην ϗ επι τȣ ἁρματος εφορει, πολλακις την Περσικην ςολην ὑποφαινων ανωθεν των ωμων, το τε τοξον ϗ την σιβυνην· ενιοτε δε ϗ την τȣ Ἑρμȣ τα μεν αλλα σχεδον———————εν δε τη συνȣσια τα τε πεδιλα, ϗ τον πετασον επι τη κεφαλη, ϗ το κηρυκειον εν τη χειρι, πολλακις δε λεοντην ϗ ροπαλον ὡσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλης·" Athenæus, Lib. 12.--537.

[z] Plutarch's Morals. Vol. 2.--135. 8vo Edit. 1704. "Των μεν γαρ τοπων τα ὑψηλα δυσπροσοδα και δυσεφικτα γενοντο τοις επιβȣλευοισι· το δε εν ψυχη νȣν ȣκ ἐχȣση δι'ευτυχιαν η δι'ευφυιαν ὑψος και φρονημα, τοις μικροις και ταπεινοις μαλιςα βασιμον εςι·" Plutarch. De Adul. et Amic. Diſcrim. Tom. 2.--65.

cate, that this was one principal reaſon of the rapid progreſs, which adulation made amongſt the Macedonians. "When fear and tyranny prevail, adulation," in the words of the philoſopher, "regularly flouriſhes, and friendſhip deſcends into the grave." [a] Iphippus of Olinthus informs us, that Alexander's beſt friends were under the neceſſity of applauding what they could not approve; and in thoſe riotous exceſſes, which tarniſhed the Prince's glory, they obſerved a profound ſilence, from the apprehenſion of increaſing his outrageous paſſions, or affording him any pretext to indulge his favourite propenſity of ſhedding human blood. [b] Lucian aſſures us likewiſe, that calumny and flattery had a ready acceſs to the Macedonian Monarch; [c] and Anaxarchus, to conſole him for the murder of Clitus, defended in his preſence the execrable maxim that juſtice had no other rule than the will of kings. [d] "This miſerable Sophiſt was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the infamous band of Medeus, that arch paraſite and enemy to the Macedonian nobility, and chief of all that numerous train which Alexander entertained in his court. This man taught his diſciples to

[a] "Οπου γαρ δεος και εξουσια δεσποτικη το αρχομενον αγχει αναγκη δευρο κολακειαν μεν αιδειν, φιλιαν δε καταρρωγεναι." Maximus Tyrius. Tom. 1.--393. Ed. Reiſke. 8vo Lips. 1774.

[b] "Ευφημια τε και σιγη κατειχε παντας υπο δεους της παροντας· αφορητω γαρ ην, και φονικω." Athenæus. Lib. 12.--538.

[c] "Η γουν κολακεια και η διαβολη τοτε μαλιστα χωραν εσχε προς το Αλεξανδρου παθω συντιθεμενη." Lucian. Calumn. non tem. cred. Tom. 3.--150.

[d] "Την δικην εχει παρεδρον ὁ Ζευς, και την Θεμιν, ἱνα παν το παραχθεν υπο του κρατουντος θεμιτον η και δικαιον; τοιουτοις τισι λογοις χρησαμενω Αναξαρχω, το μεν παθος εκυφισε του βασιλεως, το δε ηθος εις πολλα χαυνοτερον κ̀ παρανομωτερον εποιησεν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.

to ſlander boldly, and puſh home their calumnies; for though the wound might probably be cured and ſkinned over again, yet the teeth of ſlander would be ſure to leave a ſcar behind them: by theſe ſcars (or to ſpeak more properly) gangrenes and cancers of falſe accuſations, fell the brave Calliſthenes, Parmenio, and Philotas, whilſt he himſelf became an eaſy prey to an Agnon, Bagoas, Ageſias and Demetrius, who tricked him up like a barbarian ſtatue or antick, and paid the mortal, the adoration due to a God."[e] This gloomy picture of the effects of adulation on Alexander's conduct, muſt notwithſtanding be correct, as it comes from the hand of Plutarch. It may be more eaſily relied on, as he is always diſpoſed to palliate the Macedonian Monarch's exceſſes, and would willingly perſuade us, that he courageouſly reſiſted the ſolicitations of Agnon and Philoxenus, when they would have ſeduced him into ſome unnatural ſenſualities.[f] But admitting theſe ſycophants to

[e] Plutarch's Morals. Vol. 2.--134, 135. "Ην δε ὁ Μεδιος τȣ περι Αλεξανδρον χορȣ των κυλακων ὁιον εξαρχος, ϗ σοφιςης κορυφαιος επι τους αριςους συντεταγμενος· εκελευεν ȣν θαρρȣντας, ἁπτεσθαι ϗ δακνειν ταις διαβολαις, διδασκων ὁτι καν θεραπευσε το ἑλκος ὁ δεδηγμενος, ἡ ȣλη μενει της διαβȣλης. ταυταις μεν τοι ταις ȣλαις, μαλλον δε γαγγραιναις, ϗ καρνικωμασι διαβρωθεις Αλεξανδρος, απωλεσε ϗ Καλλισθενη, ϗ Παρμενιωνα ϗ Φιλωταν· Αγνωσι δε ϗ Βαγωαις ϗ Αγησιαις ϗ Δημητριοις αφειδως ενεδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑποσκελιζεσθαι, προσκυνȣμενον ϗ καταςολιζομενον ϗ αναπλαττομενον ὑπ' αυτων ὡσπερ αγαλμα βαρβαρικον." (Plut. De Adult. et Amici. Diſcrim. Tom. 2.--65.) Monſieur de Theil hath added to his tranſlation of this part of Plutarch's Works, ſome curious obſervations upon the ancient Paraſites.

[f] "Φιλοξενος——————εγραψεν ειναι παρ' αυτω Θεοδωρον τινα Ταρεντινον, εχοντα παιδας ωνιȣς δυο, την οψιν ὑπερφυεις, ϗ πυνθανομενος ει πριηται, χαλεπως ενεγκων, εβοα πολλακις προς τȣς φιλȣς, ερωτων τι πωπετε Φιλοξενος αισχρον αυτω συνεγνωκως, τοιαυτα ονειδιη προξενων καθητα· τον δε Φιλοξενον αυτον εν επιστολη πολλα λοιδορησας, εκελευεν αυτοις φορτιοις τον Θεοδωρον εις τον ολεθρον αποςελλειν· επεπληξεν δε ϗ Αγνωνι νεανισκω, γραψαντι προς αυτον, ὁτι Κρωβυλον ευδοκιμȣντα εν Κορινθω, βȣλεται πριαμενος αγαγειν προς αυτον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--676, 677.

to have had the power of exciting the Prince to the deſtruction of his ableſt generals, and moſt faithful friends, we may eaſily conceive their influence muſt have been as fatal, when they offered to him new ſymptoms of criminal debauchery.

The ſhameful paſſion of the Greeks for unnatural vices[g] was a matter of public notoriety, and little doubt can remain of the infamous commerce between the Macedonian Monarch and the Eunuch Bagoas. Dicearchus informs us, that he embraced him in the moſt laſcivious and indecent manner in the theatre, before a crowded audience, which far from bluſhing at the ſcandalous tranſaction,

g Some learned men have endeavoured to reſcue ſeveral of the great characters of Antiquity from this deteſtable ſuſpicion, (See Toup. Appendicula Not. atque Emend. in Theocritum. 26. ---Potter's Grecian Antiq. Book 4. C. 2. Vol. 2.--390.---Philo. De vitâ contemplativâ.--- Max. Tyrius. Diſſert. 8, 9, 10, 11.---Hiſt. of Athens. 321.) and to explain away the appendant tribe of young men and boys, celebrated for their beauty, that conſtantly clung around them. Many virtuous individuals muſt certainly have riſen ſuperior to the general depravity, and the young men, under their patronage, muſt have been trained up to every thing that was good or great; but whilſt ſuch practices and ſuch premiums exiſted, as Moſchus and Theocritus have deſcribed,

"Και παιδων εδιδασκε φιλαματα·————"

Moſchi Idyll. 3.--84.--28. Oxon. 8vo 1748.

"Αιει οἱ περι τυμβον αολλεες ειαρι πρωτω
Κουροι εριδμαινουσι φιληματος ακρα φερεσθαι·
Ὁς δε κε προσμαξη γλυκερωτερα χειλεσι χειλη
Βριθομενος ςεφανοισιν ἑην προς μητερ' απηνθεν·
Ολβιος ὁςις παισι φιληματα κεινα διαιτα·
Η που τον χαροπον Γανυμηδεα πολλ' επιβωςρει,
Λυδιη ισον εχειν πετρη ςομα·————"

Theocrit. Id. 12.--30. Tom. 1.--55. Oxon. 4to 1770.

it is in vain to combat, by any arguments, the "Ἑλληνικον τροπον" and the profligacy of thoſe licentious times. Athenæus tells us, without equivocation, "Ὡλως δε τους παιδικους ερωτας των επι ταις θηλειαις προκρινουσι πολλοι," and he adds, to ſhew its notoriety, "Παρα γαρ ταις αλλαις ταις ευνομουμεναις πολεσιν επι της Ελλαδος σπουδασθηναι το δε το εθος." (Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--601.) There is not a more infamous acknowledgment upon Record!

tranſaction, teſtified its ſatisfaction by a very general applauſe.[h] The ſevere obſervations of Orſines, reſpecting this Eunuch, in Q. Curtius,[i] evidently prove the unnatural connection between his maſter and the Catamite; but the Latin hiſtorian, with unaccountable inconſiſtency, afterwards aſſerts, that Alexander in his ſenſual gratifications had not ſtrayed beyond the bounds of nature, or wandered into forbidden paths.[k]

Alexander's humanity to the nations, that he conquered, hath been boaſted of, but it is ſometimes problematical. Many actions of his life demonſtrate to a certainty, that in the latter period of his reign he had forgotten the clemency, with which in an early ſtage of glory and of victory, he had ſoothed the misfortunes of the different people, over whom he triumphed. Vanity and political fineſſe might have perhaps ſuggeſted to him ſuch

[h] "Φιλοπαις δε ην εκμανως τῳ Αλεξανδρῳ ὁ βασιλευς· Δικαιαρχῳ γουν εν τῳ περι της εν Ιλιῳ θυσιας, Βαγωᾳ τῳ ευνουχῳ ὑτως αυτον φησι ηρασθαι, ὡς εν ὀψει θεατρῳ ὁλῳ καταφιλειν αυτον ανακλασαντα, τῳ των θεατων επιφωνησαντων μετα κροτου ουκ απειθησας, παλιν ανακλασας εφιλησεν." Athenæus. Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--603.

[i] "Les reproches qu'Orſines fait dans Quinte Curce à cet eunuque." I have made a trifling alteration in the ſenſe of this ſentence, as the only reproach, which Orſines perſonally made to Bagoas was the "Audieram in Aſiâ olim regnaſſe Feminas; hoc vero novum eſt, regnaſſe Caſtratum." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--755.) To a friend, who wiſhed to put him on his guard againſt the Eunuch's machinations, with more cauſtic acrimony, he had previouſly obſerved, "Amicos regis, non ſcorta ſe colere." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--752.

[k] "Veneris intra naturale deſiderium uſus, nec ulla niſi ex permiſſo voluptas." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--786.) I am utterly unable to reconcile the "Naturale deſiderium" with the "Bagoæ ſpadoni, qui Alexandrum obſequio corporis devinxerat ſibi." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1, Tom. 2.--751.

ſuch a laudable and advantageous line of conduct, at the outſet of his military career, and the maſk dropped when it was no longer neceſſary. True virtue, which really ſprings from the heart, ſeldom varies, but continues to animate the boſom, until it ceaſes to throb itſelf. The devaſtation of the country of Sambus,[l] and that of the Pathalians;[m] the burning of the city of the Agalaſſians;[n] the crucifixion of the Indian prince Muſicanus,[o] and the

 puniſhment

l "Ἐξης δε την τε Σαμβε βασιλειαν εξεπορθησε ϗ τας πολεις πολεις εξανδραποδισαμενος ϗ κατασκαψας, κατεκοψε των Βαρβαρων ὑπερ τας οκτω μυριαδας." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--239.

m "In proximam gentem Pathaliam perventum eſt. Rex erat Mœris, qui urbe deſerta in montes profugerat. Itaque Alexander oppido potitur, agroſque populatur." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C. 8. Tom. 2.--729.) Under the ſame circumſtances, perhaps the modern rules of war would authorize the ſame treatment. Arrian gives a very different account of the buſineſs. "Ὁ δε κατα διωξιν των Φευγοντων εκπεμψας της ϛρατιας τους κουφοτατους, ετυχε τινες αυτων ξυνειληφθησαν, απεπεμπετο τουτους παρα τους αλλους, εντειλαμενος ετοιμους ειναι θαρρυντας· ειναι γαρ αυτοις την τε πολιν οικειαν ὡς προσθεν, ϗ την χωραν εργαζεσθαι· ϗ ετοιμηλθον οἱ πολλοι αυτων·" Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 18.--443.

n "Των δε αλλων εγχωριων συναθροισθεντων, δισμυριους μεν καταφυγοντας εις πολιν μεγαλην κατα κρατος ἑιλε· των δε Ινδων διαφραξαντων τους ϛενωπους, ϗ απο των οικιων μαχομενων ευρωτως, βιαζομενος απεβαλε των Μακεδονων ουκ ολιγους· δια δε την οργην εμπρησας την πολιν, συγκατεκαυσε τους πλειους·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--235.

o This unfortunate Indian prince had neglected, according to Arrian, the following duties either to Craterus, or his Royal maſter, "Ουπω απηντηκει αυτω Μασικανος, ενδιδους ἑαυτον τε ϗ την χωραν, ουτε πρεσβεις επι φιλια εκπεμπει, ουδε τι ουτε αυτῳ επεπομπει, ἁ δη μεγαλω βασιλει εικῳ, ουτε τι ηϗηκει εξ Αλεξανδρου·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 15.--439.) Theſe offences were however afterwards forgiven, on the ſeveral expectations being fully gratified, and the Prince had his territories reſtored to him. A citadel was notwithſtanding built in the Prince's capital, and Craterus had the command of it. "Οτι εποιϗηδειον αυτω εφανη το χωριον ες το κατεχεσθαι τα κυκλω εθνη φυλαττομενα·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 15.--440.) Whether Muſicanus was diſſatisfied with, or ill treated by this Grecian garriſon, we are not told, but he withdrew himſelf and ſoon appeared in arms. The iſſue of the conteſt was ſoon decided, and the Indian prince was brought a priſoner by Pytho,

who

puniſhment of many Brahmins, whoſe only crime had been that of encouraging their countrymen to defend their liberty and laws; and, in a word, the deſtruction of many Indian cities, which had the courage either to oppoſe or retard the projects of the Macedonian Monarch, are not the moſt deciſive ſpecimens of his clemency.

After having granted terms to one of theſe cities and accepted its ſurrender, he fell upon a part of the garriſon in its march, and ſlaughtered the whole of the detachment. Plutarch, from whom the fact is borrowed, admits it to have been a diſgraceful ſtain in his Hero's [p] life, and he confeſſes alſo, that the Macedonian Monarch put, with his own hand, Orſidates to death, who had revolted againſt him, by piercing him with darts. [q]

Alexander's

who had been ſent againſt him. The remainder of his hiſtory, is ſummed up by Arrian in a few lines. "Και τουτον κρεμασαι Αλεξανδρος κιλευει εν τη αυτȣ γη, ϗ των Βραχμανων ὁσοι αιτιοι της αποςασεως τω Μȣσικανω κατεςησαν·" Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 17.--442.

p "Apres avoir accordé la paix a une ville Indienne, ce prince retourne bientot ſur ſes pas entre dans cette malheureuſe cité, et en maſſacre tous les habitans." The following paſſage in Plutarch is referred to, "Επει δε των Ινδων ὁι μαχιμωτατοι μισθοφορȣντες επεφοιτων ταις πολεσιν, ερρωμενως αμυνοντες, ϗ κατα πολλα τον Αλεξανδρον εκακοποιουν, σπεισαμενος εν τινι πολει προς αυτους, απιοντας εν ὁδω λαβων, ἁπαντας απεκτεινεν ϗ τȣτο τοις πολεμικοις εργοις αυτȣ, ταλλα νομιμως ϗ βασιλικως πολεμησαντος, ὡς κηλις προσεςιν·" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--698.) I need not, I apprehend, point out the propriety of the alteration.

q "Και των αποςαντων Βαρβαρων Ορσοδατην αυτος κατετοξευσεν·" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--697.) The Baron de St. Croix, in all likelihood, overlooked the paſſage in Plutarch, where Alexander ordered that quarter was not to be given, merely from political motives. "Φονον μεν ουν ενταυθα πολυν των ἁλισκομενων γενεσθαι συνεπεσεν· γραφει γαρ αυτος ὡς νομιζων αυτω τȣτο λυσιτελειν, εκελευεν αποσφαττεσθαι τȣς ανθρωπȣς·" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--686.

Alexander's cruelty is ſtrongly marked by the pointed energy of the Scriptural expreſſion, which hath loſt much of its original force in its tranſition into another language.[r] The profane writers have, notwithſtanding, concealed and kept back from public view the repreſentation of the bloody ſcenes, which paſſed at a diſtance, though the truth ſometimes eſcapes them, and Arrian honeſtly avows his inclination for very ſevere, as well as diſproportionate puniſhments.[s]

The Gentoo annals mention the Conqueror of Aſia, and have beſtowed on him the terms of "moſt mighty robber and murderer,"[t] but moſt of the Oriental traditions have ſuppoſed him to have been beneficent and humane. Yet the Indians in all probability formed their opinions from compariſons, and the miſery, which

 they

[r] "Interfecit" is employed by the Vulgate, and our Engliſh verſion hath, "he ſlew the kings of the earth." Neither of theſe expreſſions may poſſibly convey the full ſenſe of the "εσφαξε," the Greek word "σφαζω" or "σφαττω" being properly rendered, "macto, jugulo, immolo."

[s] "L'inclination qu'Alexandre avoit pour les executions ſanguinaires." "Ου μη αλλα ϗ αυτος Αλεξανδρος οξυτερος λεγεται γενεσθαι εν τω τοτε ες το πιςευσαι τε τοις επικαλουμενοις, ὡς πιθανοις δη εν παντι ουσι· ϗ επι το τιμωρησασθαι μεγαλως τȣς επι μικροις εξελεγχθεντας·" Arrian. Lib. 7. C. 4. --483.

[t] "Mhaahah, Dukkoyt é Kooneah." (Holwell's intereſting Events relative to the Provinces of Bengal, Part 2, 4.) We learn alſo from Chardin, that "les Parſes ou Guebres au lieu d'admirer ce Prince, et de reverer ſon nom, comme font tant d'autres peuples, le mepriſent, le deteſtent, le maudiſſent, le regardent comme un pirate, un brigand, comme un homme ſans juſtice et ſans cervelle, né pour troubler l'ordre du monde et pour detruire une partie du genre humain." Voyages en Perſe, Tom. 2.--185. Ed. 4to

they perſonally ſuffered, might have recalled their attention from that, which their anceſtors had experienced under the Macedonian arms. Since the reign of Mahmoud in the eleventh age, who ſubdued India, and treated the natives with the rigour of an exaſperated conqueror, and the inhumanity of a fanatic, theſe mild and inoffenſive people have been accuſtomed to the horrid ravages of war, and to an unvarying repetition of pillage, flames, and bloodſhed. Such were the certain and terrible effects of the different invaſions of their country, and reaſoning from theſe ſcourges of human life, they conſidered Alexander as a conqueror of extraordinary moderation, and even attributed to him the moſt remarkable and magnificent monuments in that vaſt country.[w] The Perſians, however, had ſerious and ſubſtantial reaſons to conſecrate the Macedonian Monarch's memory in their annals. When he became poſſeſſed of the Perſian empire, proſperity had not corrupted him with its baneful influence, and the Conqueror of Darius treated his new ſubjects with a gentleneſs and lenity, till then unknown, under any violent change of government. But the condition of Perſia was not improved, and it received no benefit or advantage whatever from the Grecian conqueſt. It continued to be governed by a deſpot, and ſuffering the vexations of rapacious officers, was alſo expoſed to every ſhock of the ſucceeding revolutions, without having either its chains looſened, or their galling weight diminiſhed.

Q.

[w] Zend-Aveſta, par Anquetil. Tom. i.—392.

Q. Curtius hath been accuſed,[x] with injuſtice, of having written the panegyric of Alexander rather than his life, as the ingenious writer hath both frequently brought forward, and ſtated with impartiality, his faults and crimes. The Prince, he ſays, abandoned himſelf, after the change in his character, to a ſyſtem of voluptuouſneſs, and though the Perſians could not prevail againſt him, he was conquered by his own vices.[y] Feaſts, feſtivals, and games, became the common occupations of the Conqueror of Aſia, who paſſed whole nights in drunkenneſs and debauchery.[z] The ſame hiſtorian, in another part of his work, informs us, that Alexander's character was totally altered, and that the moderation and continence, which he had profeſſed, were ſucceeded by intemperance and pride. His palace was filled with three hundred and ſixty concubines, and the guard of the ſeraglio was compoſed of a troop of Eunuchs.[a] Theſe anecdotes, and others of the ſame tendency, that are ſuppreſſed, are not uſually introduced into a panegyric; and

[x] Clerici Judicium de Q. Curtio. 9.

[y] "Sed ut primum inſtantibus curis laxatus eſt animus, militarium rerum quam quietis otiique patientior; excepere eum voluptates; et quem arma Perſarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--395.

[z] "Intempeſtiva convivia, et perpotandi pervigilandique inſana dulcedo, ludique et greges pellicum.————intempeſtivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque conſumeret; ſatietatem epularum ludis interpolabat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--395.

[a] "Hic vero palam cupiditates ſuas ſolvit, continentiamque et moderationem, in altiſſimâ quâque fortunâ eminentia bona, in ſuperbiam ac laſciviam vertit. Patrios mores diſciplinamque Macedonum regum ſalubriter temperatam, et civilem habitum, velut leviora magnitudine ſuâ ducens; Perſicæ regiæ, par Deorum potentiæ faſtigium æmulabatur. Jacere humi venerabundos pati cœpit.

and we cannot rationally ſuppoſe from them, that Alexander, even in the conflagration of his paſſions, was conducted by the flaſh of reaſon, that Monteſquieu [b] hath ſpoken of, "which thoſe who would fain make a romance of his hiſtory, and whoſe minds were more corrupt than his, could not conceal from our view." [c]

Q. Curtius is undoubtedly alluded to, and he little deſerves ſuch a ſarcaſtic animadverſion, for having faithfully expoſed the conduct of this Prince.

Notwithſtanding the charge of an unjuſtifiable partiality for the Macedonian Monarch in Q. Curtius, he may be ſuſpected, on the contrary, of having imagined ſome circumſtances, that have affected his reputation. The death of Orſines is of the number. This illuſtrious Perſian, of high birth and dignity, made ſome preſents, as we are told, to the Conqueror of Aſia, and the principal courtiers, amongſt whom Bagoas was either omitted or forgotten. The exaſperated Eunuch could not pardon the indignity, and in revenge for the ſuppoſed affront, he accuſed Orſines of the pillage

cæpit.——ſuperbiamque habitus. animi inſolentia ſequebatur.——Pellices C. C. C. et ſexaginta, totidem qui Darii fuerant, regiam implebant, quas ſpadonum greges, et ipſi muliebria pati adſueti, ſequebantur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--424——426.

[b] "Qui ceux qui avoient voulu faire un Roman de ſon hiſtoire, et qui avoient *l'eſprit* plus gaté que lui n'ont pu nous derober." L'Eſprit des Loix, Lib. 10. C. 13. Tom. 1.--196.

[c] Nugent's Tranſlation, Vol. 1.--210.

pillage of the tomb of Cyrus, and aſſured his Royal Maſter, that the embezzled plunder, amounted to three thouſand talents. The funeral monument was directed to be opened, and as it contained only two Scythian bows, a ſabre, and a crown of gold, the Eunuch had the addreſs to perſuade Alexander of the truth of his aſſertions, and the unfortunate Perſian was led to execution. [d]

The relation however of Q. Curtius, does not agree with that of any of the other hiſtorians.——Plutarch informs us, that Polymachus was condemned to death for the pillage of the tomb of Cyrus [e]; and Strabo believes a band of robbers were the authors of the crime, as they deſtroyed what they could not carry off. [f] Arrian pretends, that the Magi, who had the care of this monument, underwent the torture, though no diſcoveries were derived from it. [g] The laſt hiſtorian ſpeaks afterwards of the puniſhment of Orſines, who had the government of Perſia after the death of Phraſaortes, and was convicted of extortion, and of having plundered

[d] The ſtory is told at ſome length, and with many intereſting circumſtances, by Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--751——755.

[e] "Ἐπειτα τον Κυρε ταφον διορωρυγμενον, απεκτεινε τον αδικησαντα· Και τοι Πελλαιος ην ου των ασημοτατων ὁ πλημμελησας, ονομα Πολυμαχος." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--703.

[f] "Προνομευτων εργον ην, ουχι του Σατραπου, καταλιπουτων ἁ μη δυνατον ην ραδιως εκκομισαι." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1061, 1062.

[g] "Αλεξανδρος δε ξυλλαβων τους Μαγους τους φυλακας τε ταφε ερρεβλωσεν, ὡς κατειπειν τους δρασαντας· ὁι δε ουτε σφων ουτε αλλε κατειπον ερεβλεμενοι, ουδε αλλη πη ξυνηλεγχοντο ξυνειδοτες τω εργω." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 29.--473.

dered the temples and Royal tombs at Perſepolis,[h] monuments at a diſtance from that of Cyrus, who had choſen Paſagardis[i] for the place of his interment. Ariſtobulus hath given a deſcription of the place of ſepulchre, and Arrian[k] hath preſerved it.

The tomb of Cyrus was ſituated in a ſacred wood, watered by ſprings, that fertilized the earth, which was covered with thick rich graſs, and equalled that of the moſt beautiful meadows. In the midſt of the ſhady trees of this ſacred grove, a little edifice aroſe, to which only a narrow entrance opened. The aſhes of Cyrus were depoſited in a golden caſe within the building, and it contained alſo a couch with golden feet, a throne of gold, ſome ſplendid garments, and carpets of exquiſite workmanſhip, ſwords, collars, and jewels ſet in gold. A collection of ſuch riches is far from coinciding with the ſenſe of the epitaph, which Plutarch[l] hath

h "Κατα Ορξινυ πολλοι λογοι ελεχθησαν περος Περσων, ὁς ηρξε Περσων, επειδε Φρασαορτης ετελευσε· κ᾽ εξηλεγχθη Ορξινης ἱερα τε ὁτι σεσυληκε, κ᾽ ταφυς βασιλικυς, κ᾽ Περσων πολλυς ὁτι ὑ ξυν δικη απεκτεινε· τυτον μεν δη ὁις εταχθη ὑπο Αλεξανδρυ εκρεμασαν"' Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 30.--473.

i "Εις πασαργαδας ἡκε· κ᾽ τυτο δ᾽ην βασιλειον αρχαιον· ενταυθα δε κ᾽ τον Κυρυ ταφον ειδεν εν παραδεισω"' Strabo. Lib. 15.--1061.

k "Περι αυτον αλσ☉ εμπεφυτευσθαι δενδρων παντοιων, κ᾽ υδατι ειναι καταρρυτον κ᾽ ποαν βαθειαν περφυκεναι εν τω λειμωνι——————ανωθεν δε οικημα επειναι λιθινον εσεγασμενον, θυριδα εχον φερυσαν εσω γεφυν, ως μολις αν ενι ανδρι ὑ μεγαλω, πολλα κακοπαθεντι παρελθειν· εν δε τω οικηματι τυελον χρυσην κειεσθαι, ἱνα το σωμα τυ Κυρυ ετεθαπτο, κ᾽ κλινην παρα τη τυελω· ποδας δε ειναι τη κλινη χρυσυς σφυρηλατυς, κ᾽ ταπητα επιβληματων Βαβυλωνιων, κ᾽ καυνακας πορφυρυς ὑποστρωννυσθαι· επειναι δε κ᾽ κανδυς, κ᾽ αλλες χιτωνας της βαβυλωνιυ εργασιας· κ᾽ ἀναξυριδες Μηδικαι κ᾽ στολαι ὑακινθινοβαφεις λεγει ὁτι εκειντο——————κ᾽ στρεπτοι κ᾽ αχινακαι, κ᾽ ενωτια χρυσυ τε κ᾽ λιθων κολλητα· κ᾽ τραπεζα εκειτο"' Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 29.--470, 471.

l "Ω ΑΝΘΡΩΠΕ, ΟΣΤΙΣ ΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΘΕΝ ἩΚΕΙΣ (ὈΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ἩΞΕΙΣ ΟΙΔΑ) ΕΓΩ ΚΥΡΟΣ

hath tranſmitted to us. "Whoever thou art, and whenſoever thou comeſt, for come thou wilt, I am Cyrus, the founder of the Perſian empire; envy me not the little earth that covers my remains!" The modeſty of this inſcription, in all probability, ſuggeſted to Xenophon a hint for his ſpeech of Cyrus, a few moments before he expired.[m] "My children, when I am no more, neither encloſe my body in gold nor ſilver, commit it as ſoon as poſſible to the earth, for there cannot be a greater happineſs than to mingle with the duſt."

By the Perſian cuſtoms, their kings had only the honour of ſepulchres,[n] and their tombs, which are ſtill exiſting, are ſituated to the Eaſt of the mountain of Iſtakhar, and have no reſemblance with that, which Ariſtobulus hath deſcribed, no more than thoſe of Naxi-Ruſtan.[o] The ſacred wood, with which he ſurrounds the tomb of Cyrus, betrays the falſity of the deſcription. This

 mode

ΚΥΡΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ 'Ο ΠΕΡΣΑΙΣ ΚΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ· ΜΗ ΟΥΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΛΙΓΗΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΦΘΟΝΗΣΗΣ, 'Η ΤΟΥΜΟΝ ΣΩΜΑ ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΙ." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--703.) Strabo (Lib. 15.--1062.) and Arrian (Lib. 6. C. 29.--472.) vary the concluding ſentence of this epitaph. The former reads "Μη ϐ φθονησεις," and the latter "Μη ϐ φθονει μοι τϐ μνηματος." which is more conſiſtent with the relation of Ariſtobulus. Perhaps, however, the whole is a mere fiction.

[m] "Το δ'εμον σωμα, ω παιδες, ὁταν τελευτησω, μητε εν χρυσῳ, θητε, μητε εν αργυρῳ, μηδε εν αλλῳ μηδενι· αλλα τη γη ὡς ταχιστα αποδοτε· τι γαρ τϐτϐ μακαριωτερον, τϐ γη μιχθηναι." Xenophon. Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--658. 4to Oxon. 1727.

[n] Hyde. De Religione Veterum Perſarum. C. 34.

[o] See the obſervations of Monſieur Caylus, Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 29.--144. —Voyages de Le Bruyn. Tom. 4.--393.—Chardin. Tom. 2.--162.

mode of burial was not in uſe in Perſia, and the Grecian cuſtom of interring their dead in ſhady groves[p] is introduced amongſt a people, who were utter ſtrangers to ſuch rites. The pretended riches in the tomb of Cyrus have alſo been imagined from the common tales, which Ariſtobulus incautiouſly adopted. Q. Curtius hath taken care to undeceive us, and we are told by him, that Alexander expreſſed his ſurpriſe, on finding ſuch a powerful monarch as Cyrus, had been interred with ſo little magnificence and pomp.[q]

Arrian informs us, that Cambyſes committed the cuſtody of his father's Mauſoleum to the Magi, who received a daily allowance of a ſheep, a meaſure of flour, and one of wine, and every month a horſe, which compoſed the ſacrifices to the ſhades of Cyrus.[r] This

[p] Vangoens. Diatribe de Cepotaph. C. 4, 5, 6.

[q] "Auro argentoque repletum eſſe crediderat, quippe ita fama Perſæ vulgaverant; ſed præter clypeum ejus putrem, et Arcus duos Scythicos, et acinacem, nihil reperit. Ceterum corona aurea impoſita amiculo, cui adſueverat ipſe, ſolium, in quo corpus jacebat, velavit; miratus tanti nominis regem, tantis præditum opibus, haud pretioſius ſepultum eſſe, quam ſi fuiſſet e plebe." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--754.) I have omitted the "Alexandre, ſelon cet ecrivain, en reconnut la fauſſete," as I am not able to diſcover any direct authority for this opinion, and ſuch an acknowledgment would have left Alexander no pretext whatever for the puniſhment of Orſines, which Q. Curtius immediately relates. The crafty Eunuch naturally took advantage of his Maſter's ſurpriſe, which might ariſe even from his diſappointment, and the unity of the piece, whether real or fictitious, is by theſe means preſerved.

[r] "Ειναι δε εντω τω περιβολω, προς τη αναβασει τη επι τον ταφον φερουσι, οικημα σμικρον τοις Μαγοις πεποιημενον, οι δε εφυλασσον τον Κυρου ταφον, ετι απο Καμβυσου του Κυρου, παις παρα πατρω εκδεχομενοι την φυλακην. Και τουτοις προβατον τε ες ημεραν εδιδετο εκ βασιλεως, και αλευρων τε και οινου τεταγμενα, και ιππω κατα μηνα ες θυσιαν τω Κυρω." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 29.--471.

This account is certainly erroneous. The Perſians never admitted their departed heroes into the number of their Deities, but their religious opinions are as incorrectly ſpoken of in Q. Curtius. Darius there ſacrifices to the local Divinities of Cilicia,[s] and Arrian[t] is equally exceptionable, when he ſuppoſes Jupiter to have been addreſſed by the Perſians, who were neither acquainted with his name nor worſhip. In their defence, it may be obſerved, that they were perhaps ſeduced by the moſt celebrated authors of antiquity, who were as ignorant and miſtaken on the ſubject of the religion of this people.[w]

Harpalus eſcaped by flight, and avoided the puniſhment which Orſines ſuffered. This Macedonian officer, during the life of Philip, had been intimately connected with his Son, and when Alexander mounted the throne, he had the treaſury under his

 direction.

[s] "Ipſe in jugum editi montis adſcendit, multiſque conlucentibus facibus patrio more ſacrificium Diis præſidibus loci fecit." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1.--110.

[t] "Επι τοις δε ανατειναι Δαρειον ες τον Ουρανον τας χειρας, καὶ ευξασθαι ὧδε. Αλλ'ω Ζευ βασιλευ, ὁτω επιτετραπται νεμειν τα βασιλεων πραγματα εν ανθρωποις, συ νυν μαλιστα μεν εμοι φυλαξον Περσων τε καὶ Μηδων την αρχην, ὡσπερ εν καὶ εδωκας" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 20.--308.

[w] The Greeks, as the Baron de St. Croix very juſtly obſerves, wiſhed to impoſe their religious tenets ("Faire helleniſer en matiere de religion" is his expreſſion) on all the nations of the earth. In the happy poſſeſſion of arts, ſciences, and literature, with a ſingular abſurdity, they both invented and propagated the ſtrangeſt inconſiſtencies; and with a few grains of allowance, the reproach of Lactantius, to one of their firſt-rate authors may be transferred, without much apprehenſion of impropriety, to their writers of almoſt every claſs. "Quorum lævitas inſtructa dicendi facultate et copiâ incredibile eſt quantas mendaciorum nebulas excitaverit." (De Falſâ Religione. Lib. 1.) If we are to believe the modern travellers, the Greeks of our days have not degenerated.

direction. But the gratitude of Harpalus was not equal to the new Monarch's patronage and confidence, and liſtening to the pernicious counſels of Tauriſcus, he miſbehaved in ſuch a manner, that, from apprehenſions of perſonal danger, he fled to Megaris, a little before the battle of Iſſus.[x] Alexander pardoned him, prevailed on him to return,[y] and after placing him at the head of his finances, again intruſted him with the treaſury at Ecbatana.[z] It is neceſſary to ſtate theſe facts with accuracy, which Arrian hath preſerved, becauſe they throw a degree of light on the conduct of Harpalus, with which the other hiſtorians have not furniſhed us. All of them ſuppreſs his firſt offence, which ſhould be ſpecified, to prevent its being confounded with the crime, of which he was afterwards guilty. The news of the rigid and exemplary chaſtiſement, that Alexander had inflicted on the governors, convicted of extortion and oppreſſion in the provinces during his abſence, had already reached the ears of Harpalus, whoſe conduct was not free from cenſure and ſuſpicion. Unable to face the gathering

x "Ολιγον δε προσθεν της μαχης της εν Ισσω γενομενης, αναπεισθεις προς Ταυρισκου Αρπαλω, φευγει ξυν Ταυρισκω·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--192.

y "Αρπαλω δε εν τη Μεγαριδι φυγη ην· αλλ' Αλεξανδρω πειθει αυτον κατελθειν, πιστεις δους ουδεν αυτω μειον εσεσθαι επι τη φυγη· ουδε εγενετο επανελθοντι, αλλ' επι των χρηματων αυθις εταχθη Αρπαλω." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--192.

z "Προσεταξε τα χρηματα τα εκ Περσων κομιζομενα, εις την ακραν την εν Εκβατανοις καταθεσθαι, και Αρπαλω παραδουναι·" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 19.--227.) It is difficult to decide on the greatneſs of the indiſcretion, or the generoſity of ſuch a confidence; we might be tempted, in the words of Valerius Maximus, to make the vigorous exclamation, "O! fiduciam non ſolum ſortem ſed pene etiam temerariam, quæ,——acerrimis odiis latera ſua cingere auſa eſt, uſumque miniſterii vix tutum in amicis, e ſinu inimicorum petere ſuſtinuit." Lib. 3. C. 7.

thering ſtorm, this guilty and ungrateful miniſter again fled with an eſcort of ſix thouſand men, that he entertained in his pay, and took refuge at Athens, with a part of the immenſe treaſures that he had embezzled.[a] Q. Curtius relates,[b] that the Macedonian Monarch "received letters of advice, that Harpalus had indeed entered Athens, and by large ſums gained the chief citizens; notwithſtanding which, in an aſſembly of the people, he had been commanded to leave the town, whereupon he retired to the Greek ſoldiers, who ſeized him, and that he was afterwards treacherouſly killed by a certain traveller."[c] It is extraordinary that a priſoner, and ſurrounded by a body of troops, ſhould have been aſſaſſinated by an unknown traveller, and little credit is certainly due to ſuch an anecdote.

Harpalus was undoubtedly obliged to quit Athens, as Diodorus Siculus aſſures[d] us, and we may eaſily conjecture from the circumſtances,

[a] "Ἁρπαλος δε των εν Βαβυλωνι θησαυρων κ) των τροσοδων την φυλακην τεπιςευμενος, επειδαν ταχιςα ὁ βασιλευς εις την Ινδικην εςρατευσεν, απεγνω την επανοδον αυτε· δες δ'ἑαυτον εις τρυφην,——————το μεν τρωτον εις ὑβρεις γυναικων κ) παρανομες ερωτας Βαβυλωνι εξελαπη· κ) πολλα της γαζης ακρατεςαταις ἡδοναις κατηναλωσεν· ——————τε δε Αλεξανδρε μετα την εξ Ινδων επανοδον πολλες των σατραπων κατηγορηθεντας ανελοντος, φοβηθεις την τιμωριαν, κ) συσκευασαμενος αργυριε μεν ταλαντα πεντακισχιλια, μισθοφορους δ'αθροισας ἑξακισχιλιης, απηρεν εκ της Ασιης, κ) κατεπλευσεν εις την Αττικην" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.) The five thouſand talents, according to Lempriere's calculation, amount to £968,750, of our money.

[b] "Literæ ei redduntur; Harpalum intraſſe quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliaſſe ſibi principum animos: mox concilio plebis habito juſſum urbe excedere, ad Græcos milites perveniſſe, a quibus interceptum et trucidatum a quodam viatore per inſidias." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 2.--760.

[c] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--174, 175.

[d] "Εξαιτεμενος δε ὑπ'Αντιπατρε κ) Ολυμπιαδος, κ) πολλα χρηματα διαδες τοις ὑπερ αυτε δημηγορεσι ζητεσι, διεδρα" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.

ſtances, which Plutarch mentions on the exile of Demoſthenes, that he was not attended by his men to Athens.[e] When he left this city, he joined them at Tænarus in Laconia, where they had been ſtationed,[f] and he afterwards retired into the iſland of Crete, where Thimbron, one of his aſſociates, who afterwards poſſeſſed himſelf of Cyrene, retaliated his treaſon on him, and ſlew him.[g] This Thimbron was certainly the traveller of Q. Curtius, and he is guilty of an anachroniſm, in fixing the death of Harpalus before that of Alexander. Arrian aſſerts, that the faithleſs treaſurer of the Macedonian Monarch ſurvived his maſter, and Diodorus Siculus may poſſibly add ſome ſtrength to his evidence.[h] The ſaying

[e] It is a reaſonable inference from Plutarch's ſilence, who mentions only Harpalus. The hiſtory of his reception at Athens merits ſome attention. "Οι μεν αλλοι ρητορες ευθυς επωφθαλμιασαντες προς τον πλουτον, εβοηθουν, και συνεπειθοντες Αθηναιους δεχεσθαι και σωζειν τον ικετην· ο δε Δημοσθενης πρωτον μεν απελαυνειν συνεβουλευε τον Αρπαλον, και φυλαττεσθαι μη την πολιν εμβαλωσιν εις πολεμον, εξ ουκ αναγκαιας και αδικου προφασεως" Twenty talents, however, (£3974) and a cup of great value, totally changed the queſtion, and the trimming Orator, by a convenient hoarſeneſs, had the next day loſt his voice. The wits of Athens termed it a Silver Quinſy. "Και μεθ' ημεραν ευ και καλως εξιοις και ταινιαις κατα τε τραχηλου κατελιξαμενος, εις την εκκλησιαν προηλθε· και κελευοντων ανιςασθαι και λεγειν, διενευεν ως αποκεκομμενης αυτω της φωνης· οι δ' ευφυεις κλευαζοντες, εκ υπο συναγκης εφραζον, αλλα απ' ΑΡΓΥΡΑΓΧΗΣ ειληφθαι νυκτωρ τον Δημαγωγον" De Vit. Demoſt. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--857.

[f] "Κατηρεν εις Ταιναρον προς τους μισθοφορους"——He had before expreſsly ſaid, "τους δε μισθοφορους απελιπε περι Ταιναρον της Λακωνικης" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--245.

[g] "Διαλαμβανει δε ως Θιβρων ο Λακεδαιμονιος Αρπαλον (τον τα Αλεξανδρε χρηματα, ζωντος εκεινου, αρπασαντα, και φυγοντα προς τας Αθηνας) τουτον εκεινος αποκτεινας, και ὁσα απελιπετο λαβων χρηματα πρωτα μεν επι Κυδωνιαν την επι Κρητης εξαλη" Photii Biblioth. 217.

[h] Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.—The Baron de St. Croix's expreſſion is, "Il eſt demontre par le temoignage de Diodore et d'Arrien." I have been under the neceſſity of lowering its import, as Diodorus Siculus does not demonſtrate what the Baron de *St. Croix* imagined. He takes up again the hiſtory of Harpalus in the eighteenth book, but without fixing the preciſe time

ſaying alſo of Diogenes, who died in the ſame year with Alexander, which Cicero [i] hath left us, confirms the account of the Greek hiſtorian. The Cynic philoſopher made a practice of citing Harpalus, as an inſtance of the inattention of the Gods, and reproached them with their long connivance at the happineſs and good fortune of the traitor.——The expulſion of Harpalus from the Attic territories, may be dated in the third year of the 113th Olympiad, in the Archonſhip of Chremes, [k] two years before the death of Alexander. Uſher [l] ſuppoſes, with ſome probability, the aſſaſſination of Harpalus to have happened the year after his Maſter's death, and 323 years before Chriſt, when Cephiſodorus was Archon. The Jeſuit Petau [m] includes the flight and death of Harpalus in the ſame year, but he relies on Arrian and Diodorus Siculus for his authority, and Arrian directly contradicts him.—Alexander's intention of returning into Europe, is not mentioned by

time of the events which he relates. "Ἁρπαλε γαρ τον εκ της Ασιας βρασμον ποιησαμενε, κ) κατελυσαντ© εις Κρητην μετα των μισθοφορων, καθαπερ εν τη προ ταυτης βιβλω δεδηλωκαμεν, Θιμβρων εις των φιλων νομιζομεν©, δολοφονησας τον Ἁρπαλον, κυριος εγενετο των χρηματων κ) των στρατιωτων οντων επτακισχιλιων" (Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--272.) From this paſſage it might even be ſuppoſed that Harpalus was aſſaſſinated ſoon after his eſcape into Aſia.

[i] "Diogenes quidem Cynicus, dicere ſolebat, Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo felix habebatur, contra Deos teſtimonium dicere, quod in illâ fortunâ tam diu viveret." Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, Lib. 3. Tom. 2.--514.

[k] Corſini. Faſt. Attic. Tom. 4.--40.

[l] Uſſerii Annales. 215. Folio. Genev. 1722.

[m] Petav. Doct. Temp. Lib. 13. Tom. 2.--597. "L'autorité de Diodore et d'Arrien ſur leſquels il s'appuye lui ſont abſolument contraires." I have varied the expreſſion for it was not warranted.

by any hiſtorian, Q. Curtius excepted, and its execution muſt have been at that time very prejudical to the Prince's intereſt, who had juſt met with a ſevere misfortune in the loſs of Hephæſtion, and was in great affliction for him. We are told by ſome authors that Glaucias, the unfortunate phyſician was crucified,[n] that Alexander conducted in perſon the car, which conveyed Hephæſtion's remains to the tomb, and that the temple of Æſculapius at Ecbatana, was by his orders razed to the ground. It is alſo ſaid, that the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon was appl ed to, and conſulted on the propriety of divine honours to the Favourite.[o] It is however doubtful, if Æſculapius was known at Ecbatana, and Arrian hath judiciouſly rejected theſe abſurd marks of regret, which he conſiders as indecent in a Sovereign, and more adapted to the character of a Barbarian.[p]

Plutarch and ſome other writers,[q] appear to have compiled theſe

n "Οι δε, κ τον ιατρον Γλαυκιαν ὁτι εκρεμασε, κ τουτον ὡς επι φαρμακω κακως δοθεντι·——ὁι δε κ το ἁρμα εφ'ὁτω το σωμα εφερετο, αυτ@ εςιν ὁτε ἡνιοχει τουτο·——αλλοι δε, ὁτι κ του Ασκληπιου το ἑδος εν Εκ6ατανοις κατασκαψαι εκελευσε·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--509, 510.

o "Οι δε λεγουσιν ὁτι κ εις Αμμων@ επεμψεν, ερησομενος τον Θεον, ει κ ὡς Θεω θυειν συγχωρει Ἡφαιστιωνι·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--510.

p "Ουδαμη τιςον εμοιγε λεγοντες——Βαρ6αρικον δη τουτο, κ ἑδαμη Αλεξανδρω προσφορον." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--509. 510.) Ælian and Plutarch, whilſt they report the facts, admit their impropriety. "Αλλ'ενταυθα επενθει Βαρ6αρικως Αλεξανδρ@ ηδη." (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 1.--486.) "Ταυτα μεν ουν——ἡδεμιας χαριτ@ ην ἑδε τιμης, οἱκι δε Βαρ6αρικη, κ τυφης κ αλαζονειας επιδειξις εις κενα κ αἰζηλα την περιουσιαν διατιθεμενων." (De Vit. Pelopid. Plut. Opera. Tom.1.--296, 297.) Juſtin hath alſo "Quem contra decus regium Alexander diu luxit." Lib. 12. C. 12.--335.

q Ælian.Var.Hiſt.Lib.7.C.8.Tom.1.-483-487.--Luc.Calumn.non tem.cred.Tom.3.-147,148.

theſe fables without any judgment, but the Greek philoſophical hiſtorian aſſures us alſo, that Alexander levelled the battlements and parapets on the walls of the neighbouring cities, and cut off the hair of the horſes and mules.[r] This laſt ſpecies of mourning is not in the leaſt improbable, as it was a Perſian cuſtom, which he might have followed, and the army of Mardonius, from the ſame reſpectful motives, clipped their horſes and other beaſts of burthen on the death of Maſiſtius.[s] Diodorus Siculus[t] informs us, that Alexander went ſtill farther, and commanded the Aſiatics to extinguiſh their ſacred fire, which was only cuſtomary on the deceaſe of the kings of Perſia. This writer adds likewiſe, that Hephæſtion died from the conſequences of intemperance at Ecbatana,[w] and not at

 Babylon,

r "Αλεξανδρος ὁ μεγας, Ἡφαιςιωνος αποθανοντος, ε μονον ἱππους εκειρε καὶ ἡμιονους, αλλα καὶ τας επαλξεις αφειλε των τειχων, ὡς αν δοκοιεν ἀι πολεις πενθειν." (De Vit. Pelopid. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--296.) "Τουτο οὐδενι λογισμω το παθος Αλεξανδρος ηνεγκεν, αλλ' ευθυς μεν ἱππους τε κειραι παντας επι πενθει, καὶ ἡμιονους εκελευσεν, καὶ των περιξ πολεων αφειλεν τας επαλξεις." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

s "Απικομενης δε της ἱππου ες το ςρατοπεδον, πενθος εποιησαντο Μασιςιος πασα τε ἡ ςρατιη καὶ Μαρδονιος μεγιςον· σφεας τε αυτους κειροντες, καὶ τους ἱππους καὶ τα ὑποζυγια, οιμωγη τε χρεωμενοι απλητω." Herod. Lib. 9.--702.

t "Πασι δε τοις κατα την Ασιαν οικεουσι προσεταξε το πυρ τοις Περσαις ἱερον πυρ καλεμενον επιμελως σβεσαι, μεχρι αν τελεση την ἐκφορην· τουτο δε ειωθεισαν ὁι Περσαι ποιειν κατα τας των βασιλεων τελευτας." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--250.

w "Διηγυσιν εις Ἐκβατανα της Μηδιας·——εν οις Ἡφαιςιων ακμαιοις μεθαις χρησαμενος, καὶ περιπεσων αρρωςια, τον βιον κατελιπεν" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--247.) Plutarch is rather more circumſtantial. "Ὡς δε ἡκεν εις Ἐκβατανα της Μηδιας——τυχε δε περι τας ἡμερας ἐκεινας Ἡφαιςιων πυρεσσων· ὁκα δε πος καὶ ςρατιωτικος, ε φερων ακριβη διαιτην, αλλα τω του ἰατρου Γλαυκου απελθειν

Babylon, which was reported,[x] as appears from Polyænus.[y] The details, into which Diodorus Siculus hath entered, reſpecting the pompous funeral, that Alexander beſtowed on his Favourite, and the ſumptuous monument, which he erected to his memory, are liable to leſs objection, as they agree with the rules of art.[z] Iphippus of Olinthus, compoſed a work on the deaths of Alexander and Hephæſtion,[a] and Diodorus Siculus appears to have extracted his information from it.

The Conqueror of Aſia advanced towards Babylon, and the deputies of numerous and diſtant nations, met him with congratulations on his different ſucceſſes. Lybians, Carthaginians, Brutians, Lucanians, Tuſcans, Scythians, Celts, and people, who had ſcarcely ever heard of the Macedonian name, haſtened to offer their homage[b] to the Conqueror of the Eaſt, or rather to his fortune.

θειν εις το θεατρον περι αριςον γενομενος, ϗ καταφαγων αλεκτρυονα ἑφθον, ϗ ψυκτηρα μεγαν εκπιων οινου, κακως εσχεν, ϗ μικρον διαλιπων απεθανεν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

x "Comme Juſtin et Polyen l'ont fauſſement avance." I have been again under the diſagreeable neceſſity of deviating from the French ſentence. With reſpect to Juſtin, the charge is totally without foundation. "Dum hæc aguntur, unus ex amicis ejus Hephæſtion decedit," (Lib. 12. C. 12.--335.) is his account of the Favourite's death, in which Babylon, is neither mentioned nor referred to.

y "Ἡκεν τις αγγελλων Ἡφαιςιων εν Βαβυλωνι τεθνηκεν." (Polyænus. Lib. 4. C. 3.--354.) I flatter myſelf the "Ἡκεν τις αγγελλων" will juſtify the alteration that I have made.

z Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--250, 251.—Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 31.--76. Their confuſed ornaments, the Baron de St. Croix hath, notwithſtanding, already criticiſed.

a Athenæus. Lib. 4. Tom. 1.--146.

b "Babylonem ad Alexandrum ex omnibus fere orbis terrarum partibus legati venerunt. Nam præter eos quos Aſiæ nationes, civitates et principes miſerant; etiam multi ex Africâ et Europâ legati

fortune. Diodorus Siculus[c] declares in general terms, that the inhabitants of the extenſive country, between the northern ſides of the Adriatic gulph and the pillars of Hercules, diſpatched ambaſſadors to him. Ariſtus and Aſclepiades,[d] have left an account of the audience given to the Roman envoys, and tell us, that Alexander, having learnt from them many particulars, relating to their government and manners, predicted the future greatneſs of the Roman empire. Clitarchus adopted, with his uſual credulity, the embaſſy.[e] Arrian ſuſpects it with reaſon,[f] and gives

gati acceſſerunt. Ex Africâ, ab Hammoniis, Æthiopibus, Carthaginienſibus cæteriſque Pœnis, et cunctis qui mare uſque ad Columnas Herculis accolebant. Ex Europâ, a Græcorum civitatibus et Macedonibus, Thracibus, Illyriis et Scythis, Brutiis quoque Lucanis, ac Tuſcis Italiam colentibus, Siciliæ et Sardiniæ inſulis; ab Hiſpanis etiam ac Gallis, quorum nomina ac cultum tum primum Macedones cognoverunt." Uſſerii Annales. 207.

c "Χωρις γαρ των απο της Ασιας εθνων, κ) πολεων, ετι δε Δυναςων πολλοι κ) των εκ της Ευρωπης κ) Λιβυης κατηντησαν· εκ μεν Λιβυης Καρχηδονιοι κ) Λιβυφοινικες, κ) παντες οι την παραλιον οικουντες μεχρι των Ηρακλειων ςηλων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--249.

d "Αριςω δε κ) Ασκληπιαδης των τα Αλεξανδρε αναγραψαντων, κ) Ρωμαιους λεγουσιν ὁτι επρεσβευσαν· κ) εντυχοντα ταις πρεσβειαις Αλεξανδρον ὑπερ Ρομαιων τι της εσομενης ες το επειτα δυναμεως μαντευσασθαι, τον τε κοσμον των ανδρων ιδοντα κ) το φιλοπονον τε κ) ελευθεριον, κ) περι τε πολιτευματος αμα διαπυθανομενον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 15.--514.

e "Clitarchus——legationem——ad Alexandrum miſſam." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 3. Tom. 1.--324.

f "Και τουτο ουτε ως ατρεκες, ουτε ως απιςον παντη ανεγραψα· πλην γε δη ουτε τις Ρωμαιων ὑπερ της πρεσβειας ταυτης, ως παρα Αλεξανδρον ςαλειςης, μνημην εποιησατο τινα, ουδε των τα Αλεξανδρε γραψαντων (ὁις τισι μαλλον εγω ξυμφερομαι) Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγε κ) Αριςοβυλος· ουδε τω Ρωμαιων πολιτευματι επειοικος ην, ελευθερω δη τοτε ες τα μαλιςα ουτι, παρα βασιλεα αλλοφυλον, αλλως τε κ) ες τοσονδε απο της οικειας πρεσβευσαι, ουτε φοβε εξαναγκαζοντος, ουτε κατ ελπιδα ωφελειας, μισει τε, ειπερ τινας αλλους, τε τυραννικε γενους τε κ) ονοματος κατεχομενους." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 15.--514.) Titus Livy is of opinion, that even the Fame of Alexander's exploits, had not reached Rome. "Quem ne fama quidem illis notum arbitror fuiſſe." Lib. 9. C. 18. Tom. 2.--908.

little credit to this ſtrange catalogue of people, ſuppoſed to have ſent deputies to Alexander, which he only ſpeaks of as a common report, deſerving no attention in his work. The refutation of fables does not fall within the province of hiſtory, it ought to be founded only on an aſſemblage of truth or probabilities: a critical examination of facts, is the ſcaffolding of the building.

Amongſt the projects, which Alexander had in view after his return from his Indian expedition, Q. Curtius ſuppoſes one very appoſite to the character of the Macedonian Monarch, but the means of carrying it into execution, can only have been imagined by the Latin hiſtorian. The governors of Meſopotamia, as we are told by him, were ordered to cut down the wood on mount Libanus, from whence it was to be tranſported to Thapſacus. A number of ſeven oared veſſels were deſigned to be conſtructed there, and they were afterwards to drop down to the ſea by Babylon,[g] and to form a Macedonian fleet. Thapſacus was ſituated on the Euphrates, at the diſtance of four thouſand eight hundred ſtadia from Babylon, according to the calculations of Hipparchus, but Eratoſthenes reduces the diſtance,[h] and the former writer afterwards

[g] "Meſopotamiæ prætoribus imperavit, materia in Libano monte cæſa, devectaque ad urbem Syriæ Thapſacum, ingentium carinas navium ponere: ſeptiremes omnes eſſe, deducique Babylonem." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 1. Tom. 2.--749, 750.

[h] "Απο Βαβυλωνος εις Θαψακον ειναι σταδιους τετρακισχιλιους οκτακοσιους" (Strabo. Lib. 2.--130.) This ſeems to have been the opinion of Hipparchus: Eratoſthenes differs with him. "Ουτ'απεφηνατο ουδαμως Ερατοσθενης την Θαψακον της Βαβυλωνος προς αρκτους κεισθαι πλειοσιν η τετρακισχιλιοις και πεντακοσιοις

wards reckons three thouſand ſtadia, from Babylon to the mouths of the Euphrates.[i] Reaſoning from nautical principles, on the proportions, which the ancients allowed to their ſeven oared gallies,[k] they muſt have drawn thirty-nine feet eight inches of water, nearly what the modern three deckers of 100 guns require, and it is not poſſible to believe that in the Euphrates, at ſuch a diſtance from the ſea, there could have been a depth of water for veſſels of that burthen. At this diſtance alſo from the ſea, the aſſiſtance of the tide to float them muſt undoubtedly have been wanting. Polybius[l] informs us, that the Euphrates was very low in winter, though it was increaſed in the ſummer-months from the melting of the ſnow upon the mountains; but as the water of the river, during the heat of ſummer, was diverted into a thouſand channels, for the purpoſe of refreſhing the country, the ſtream of the Euphrates could be ſcarcely navigable, and ſtill leſs adequate to the tranſport of troops, and the various ſtores and implements of war. The

τεντακοσιοις σταδιοις'" (Strabo. Lib. 2.--131.) The Baron de St. Croix ſuppoſed them to have agreed.

i "Εκτευθεν δ'επι τας εκβολας τε Ευφρατε——————τρισχιλιους" Strabo. Lib. 2.--134.

k Scheffer. De Milit. Nav. Vet. Lib. 1. C. 4.

l "Συμβαινει, την υπεναντιαν φυσιν εχειν τουτον τοις πλειστοις των ποταμιων· τοις μεν γαρ αλλοις αυξεται το ρευμα, καθ'ους αν πλειους διαφερονται τοπους· ϗ μεγιστοι μεν εισι κατα τον χειμωνα, ταπεινοτεροι δε κατα την ακμην τε θερους· ὁτ@· δε ϗ πλειστ@· γινεται τω ρευματι κατα Κυν@· επιτολην, ϗ μεγιστ@· εν τοις κατα Συριαν τοποις· αει δε τροιων ελατ[illegible]ων· αιτιον δε τουτων, ὁτι συμβαινει, την μεν αυξησιν εκ εκ της συρρυσεως των χειμερινων ομβρων, αλλ'εκ της ανατηξεως των χιονων γινεσθαι· την δε μειωσιν δια τας εκτροπας τας επι την χωραν, ϗ τον μερισμον αυτε τον επι τας αρδευσεις. Η ϗ τοτε βραδειαν συμβαινει γινεσθαι την κομιδην των δυναμεων, ὁτε καταγομων μεν οντων των πλοιων, ταπεινοτατε δε τε ποταμε, ϗ τελεως βραχυ τι συνεργησης της τε ρευματ@· βιας προς τον πλεν" Polybius. Lib. 9. C. 43. Tom. 3.--181.

The Armenians, on this account, when they deſcended as low as Babylon, made uſe of little oſier boats which they covered with ſkins,[m] and even in the place, intended for the dock-yard of the ſeven oared gallies, there was a ford, when the Macedonian army croſſed the Euphrates to enter Meſopotamia.[n] The whole therefore proves, that the project inſtead of being Alexander's, was only the imaginary one of Q. Curtius.[o]

The predictions of Calanus, of the ſoothſayer Pythagoras, and thoſe of the Chaldæans, as well as a multitude of other preſages, which announced the diſſolution of the Conqueror of Aſia, have been

[m] "Τα πλοια αυτοισι εξι τα κατα τον ποταμον πορευομενα ες την Βαβυλωνα εοντα κυκλοτερεα, παντα σκυτινα· επεαν γαρ εν τοισι Αρμενιοισι τοισι κατυπερθε Ασσυριων οικημενοισι νομεας ιτεης ταμομενοι ποιησωνται, περιτεινωσι τυτοισι διφθερας γεγαρριδας εξωθεν, εδαφεος τροπον, ητε πρωμνην αποκρινοντες ητε πρωρην συναγοντες, αλλ' ασπιδος τροπον κυκλοτερεα ποιησαντες, και καλαμης πλησαντες παν το πλοιον τυτο, απιασι κατα τον ποταμον φερεσθαι, φορτιων πλησαντες." Herod. Lib. 1.--92.

[n] "Il y avoit au milieu de ce fleuve un guè, lorſque l'armee Macedonienne traverſa l'Euphrate pour entrer dans la Meſapotamie." The Baron de St. Croix, for the proof of this aſſertion, refers his readers to the ſeventh chapter of the third book of Arrian. I cannot pretend to reconcile either the "Καταλαμβανει δυοιν γεφυραιν εζευγμενον τον πορον·" or the "Και επι τω δε ου ξυνεχης ἡ γεφυρα ην εζευγμενη ες τε δε επι την αντιπερας ὄχθην, τοις Μακεδοσι δειμαινουσι μη επιθοιντο οἱ αμφι Μαζαιον τη γεφυρα, ἱνα επαυετο·" with his conſtruction. The "Και ευθυς ὡς εφυγε Μαζαιος, επεβληθησαν αἱ γεφυραι τη οχθη τη περαν, και διεβη επ' αυτων ξυν τη φρατιᾳ Αλεξανδρος·" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--193.) is in a more peremptory ſtyle of contradiction.

[o] Yet Ariſtobulus relates, according to Arrian, the deſcent of ſome veſſels of burthen from Thapſacus to Babylon. "Κατελαβε δε εν Βαβυλωνι, ὡς λεγει Αριστοβουλος, και το ναυτικον, το μεν κατα τον Ευφρατην ποταμον αναπεπλευκος απο θαλασσης της Περσικης·——το δε εκ Φοινικης αναπεκομισμενον, πεντηρεις μεν δυο των εκ Φοινικων, τεσσαρεις δε τρεις, τριηρεις δε δωδεκα, τριακοντορους δε ες τριακοντα· ταυτας ξυντμηθεισας κομισθηναι επι τον Ευφρατην ποταμον εκ Φοινικης ες Θαψακον πολιν· εκει δε ξυμπηχθεισας αυθις καταπλευσαι ες Βαβυλωνα." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 19.--522, 523.

been repreſented in melancholy and ſombre colours by the hiſtorians, to render, according to Plutarch's ideas,[p] the laſt concluding ſcene of Alexander's life more ſtriking and pathetic, and to give it a tragical effect, both productive of terror and of pity. Such attempts are, notwithſtanding, more proper for the ſtage, as Polybius hath ably remarked in his obſervations on the death of Agathocles,[q] and the hiſtorians who related it. The ſame obſervations are applicable to the writers of the life of Alexander, though they may be entitled to ſome indulgence. The incertitude of all ſublunary things, hath been, in every age, a favourite ſubject of mournful declamation, and the ſudden and inſtantaneous exchange of a throne for the dreary grave, is frequently dwelt upon with a gloomy conſolation, as it levels all diſtinctions, and reduces the monarch and the ſubject to the ſame equality.

The diſaſtrous omens, which preceded the death of the Conqueror of Aſia, were not invented by the hiſtorians, and Plutarch is not juſtified in ſuch ſuggeſtions. The different predictions, to which ſuperſtition lent afterwards its aid, were circulated with officious induſtry, by almoſt all the governors of the conquered provinces; in ſome inſtances from motives of intereſt, in others from apprehenſions for their perſonal ſecurity. Conſcious of many acts of extortion and oppreſſion,

[p] "Ὥσπερ δράματος μεγάλου τραγικὸν ἔξοδον καὶ περιπαθῆ πλάσαντες" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

[q] Polybius. Lib. 15. C. 33, 34. Tom. 3.--562. The ſentiments of Polybius will not admit of abbreviation: by an introduction of them at length, I might offend againſt the very rules, which the judicious author lays down, in the paſſages that are referred to.

oppreſſion, that Alexander in ſimilar employments had ſeverely puniſhed, they naturally wiſhed to keep their maſter at a diſtance, and to prevent, as long as they were able, his return to the capital, where his leiſure would have afforded him an opportunity of inveſtigating their conduct, from which they had every thing to fear. Under theſe circumſtances, Appolodorus of Amphipolis, who had the command at Babylon, prevailed upon his brother Pythagoras the ſoothſayer to favour his deſigns, and he diſcovered, with obſequious ingenuity, portentous appearances in the entrails of the victims, which forbade the Macedonian Monarch's entry into the city.[r]

The Chaldæan prieſts had alſo ſerious reaſons of alarm, and they ſeconded the governor's endeavours from the ſame principles, which Arrian hath explained to us. Xerxes, on his return from his unfortunate expedition againſt Greece, had deſtroyed the Temples of every denomination at Babylon, and even the celebrated one of Belus, which was immenſely rich, had not eſcaped the general deſtruction. To this Temple of Belus, the kings of Aſſyria had annexed conſiderable demeſnes, and a great revenue was ſet apart to defray the expences of the prieſts and ſacrifices. From the time of its deſtruction, however, the Chaldæan prieſts continued in quiet and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the ſums, appropriated for

[r] "Μηνυσεως γενομενης κατα Απολλοδωρȣ τȣ ϛρατηγȣ της Βαβυλωνος, ὡς ειη περι αυτȣ τεθυμενος, εκαλει Πυθαγοραν τον μαντιν· ȣκ αρνȣμενȣ δε την πραξιν, ερωτησε των ἱερων τον τροπον· φησαντος δε ὁτι το ἡπαρ ην αλοβον, Παπαι (ειπεν) ισχυρον το σημειον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1--705.

for its uſe; and though Alexander had given orders for the rebuilding of the temple, the work proceeded very ſlowly in his abſence. To give more rapidity to the execution, he had determined to employ his troops in it, and the Chaldæan prieſts, fearful, both, of being called to account for the ſums, which they had received, and being deprived of their future revenues, publiſhed many predictions, that the entry of Babylon would be fatal to its new Maſter, and invented likewiſe many omens, with the hopes of preventing his approach. [s]

If Alexander had appeared to have given credit to theſe prophecies and preſages, he muſt have weakened the belief of his Divinity, which he wiſhed to propagate. His ambition was to paſs for an Immortal, and fully ſenſible of the advantages to be reaped from ſuch a received opinion, both in Greece and Aſia, he was little ſolicitous whether death deſtroyed the illuſion, provided the ſuppoſition of it, in his life, impreſſed the world with awe, and aſſiſted him in the completion of his great deſigns. Q. Curtius, in Alexander's ſpeech to Hermolaus, hath extremely well developed the Macedonian Monarch's conduct. "It [t] was ridiculous

[s] "Επανιοντα γαρ εξ Ινδων ες Βαβυλωνα μετα τε ϛρατε, ἡ πλησιαζοντα ἠδη παρεκαλουν δι Χαλδαιοι την εισοδον επισχειν εν τω παρονπι." (Appian. de Bell. Civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--853.) "Τινας εντυγχειν αυτω Χαλδαιες, παραινουντας απεχεσθαι Βαβυλωνος τον Αλεξανδρον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--705.

[t] "Illud pene dignum riſu fuit, quod Hermolaus poſtulabat a me, ut adverſarer Jovem, cujus oraculo agnoſcor. An etiam quod Dii reſpondeant, in meâ poteſtate eſt? Obtulit nomen filii mihi:

lous enough in Hermolaus, that he would have had me oppoſe Jupiter, who thought fit by his Oracle to own me for his ſon: Do the anſwers of the Gods depend on me? he was pleaſed to offer me the title of Son; and I thought, to receive it, would very much contribute to the ſucceſs of what I had in view; I wiſh the Indians could be perſuaded that I was a God; for war depends much upon Fame, and ſometimes a falſe report believed has had the effect of a truth."[w]

The Conqueror of the Eaſt often employed the means of Superſtition, when they were likely to be ſerviceable to him, and had frequently recourſe to them with ſucceſs. When he deſired to remove a ſubject, whoſe fidelity was ſuſpicious, Ariſtander interpreted one of the Prince's dreams agreeable to his inclination, and Alexander the ſon of Ærope was diſmiſſed.[x] The accidental appearance of an eagle was ſufficient to reject the opinion of Parmenio,[y] and to counteract the influence of this old and able general with the troops. The Greeks were to be intimidated, and their anxiety appeaſed: a thouſand preſages immediately announced the deſtruction of Thebes.

mihi: recipere ipſis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque Deum eſſe me credant. Fama enim bella conſtant; et ſæpe etiam, quod falſo creditum eſt, veri vicem obtinuit." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--615, 616.

[w] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--90.

[x] The dream, and the interpretation may be found in Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 25. --90, 91.

[y] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 18.--70, 71.

Thebes.[z] Alexander's emiſſaries undoubtedly augmented theſe prodigies, and increaſed their number in proportion to the effects, which they were intended to produce, but the hiſtorians of his life cannot be charged with the invention of them. They might adopt them incautiouſly without conſidering how they originated, and they may have applied them to the Macedonian Monarch without examination, but it is time to return to the circumſtances which attended his death.

In a fragment of the Ephemerides preſerved by Arrian,[a] and copied incorrectly by Plutarch,[b] we have a daily account of the progreſs of the Macedonian Monarch's laſt malady, and its ſymptoms are ſo accurately ſtated, as to render a miſtake impoſſible on the cauſe of its fatal termination.

Having paſſed the day with Medius in play, notwithſtanding he had a feveriſh complaint, he indulged himſelf in eating in the evening.[c] Ariſtobulus relates, that being in a high and burning fever, with a great thirſt, he ſtill made free with wine, and a delirium following in conſequence of this imprudence, he died the

[z] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 12. Tom. 2.--821——823.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--167, 168.—Pauſanias. Lib. 9. C. 6.--724.

[a] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 25.--537, 538.

[b] De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

[c] "Διημερευε προς Μηδιον κυβευων· ειτ'ουν λουσαμενος, καὶ τα ἱερα τοις Θεοις επιθεις, εμφαγων, δια νυκτος επυρεξεν" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

twenty-eighth day of the month Dæſius.[d] This account agrees in general with the Ephemerides, with that of Diodorus Siculus,[e] and many other authors, though Q. Curtius and Juſtin perſuade us, that Alexander was poiſoned. The two Latin hiſtorians pretend, that Alexander's ſucceſſors had power ſufficient to ſtifle the proofs of their guilt, and prevented the communication of it to poſterity.[f] But a different concluſion may, perhaps, be more rationally

d "Αριϛοβουλος δε φησιν αυτον πυρεϊτοντα μανικως, διψησαντα δε σφοδρα, πιειν οινον· εκ τουτου δε φρενιτιασαι, κ) τελευτησαι, τριακιδι Δαισιουμηνος·" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.

e "Diodorus Siculus mentions the entertainment given by Medius, and adds, that Alexander drank off an Herculian bumper, and was immediately taken violently ill. "Παρεκληθη προς τινα των φιλων Μηδιον τον Θετταλον επι κομον ελθειν· κακει πολυν ακρατον εμφορηθεις, επι τελευτης Ηρακλειος μεγα ποτηριον πληρωσας εξεπιεν· αφνω δε, ὡστε ὑπο τινος πληγης ισχυρας πεπληγμενος ανεσεναξε μεγα βοησας, κ) ὑπο των φιλων απηλλατο χειραγωγημενος." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--252, 253.) Plutarch formally contradicts this aſſertion, "Ουτε σκυφον Ηρακλειους εκπιων, ουτε αφνω διαλυϑεις γενομενος το μεταφρενον, ὡστε λογχη πεπληγως·" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--706.) and Seneca believes it. (Epiſt. 83.—Tom. 2. 345. 8vo 1672.) Athenæus is more circumſtantial, "Αλεξανδρος γουν αιτησας ποτε ποτηριον διχουν, κ) πιων προυπιε του Πρωτεα· κ) ὁς λαϐων κ) πολλα ὑμνησας τον βασιλεα, επειτ ὡς ὑπο παντων κροταλισθηναι· κ) μετ'ολιγον το αυτο ποτηριον αιτησας ὁ Πρωτεας, κ) παλιν πιων προυπιε τω βασιλει· Ὁ δε Αλεξανδρος λαϐων εστασε μεν γεναιως, ου μην επηνεγκεν, αλλ'επεκλινεν επι το προσκεφαλαιον, αφεις των χειρων το ποτηριον· κ) εκ τουτου νοσησας απεθανε·" (Lib. 10.--434.) The "ποτηριον διχουν" is ſuppoſed to have been nearly equal to two gallons.

f "Veneno necatum eſſe credidere plerique: filium Antipatri inter miniſtros, Jollam nomine, patris juſſu dediſſe.——————Hoc per Caſſandrum adlatum, traditumque fratri Jollæ, et ab eo ſupremæ regis potioni inditum. Hæc utcumque ſunt tradita, eorum, quos rumor adſperſerat, mox potentia extinxit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--811——813.) "Amici cauſas morbi, intemperiem ebrietatis diſſeminaverunt: re autem vera inſidiæ fuerunt, quarum infamiam ſucceſſorum potentia oppreſſit·" (Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 13.--338.) Diodorus Siculus alſo relates the fame received opinion, and the ſuppoſed reaſons for the ſuppreſſion of it. "Φασι γαρ Αντιπατρον——————δια τε ιδιε υιε, τεταγμενε περι τον κυαθον, δεναι πιειν θανασιμον φαρμακον τω βασιλει· μετα δε την τελευτην πλειστον ισχυσαντος των κατα την Ευρωπην, κ) μετα ταυτα Κασσανδρε τε υιε δεκαδεξαμενε,

onally drawn from ſuch ſilence. Their mutual diſſentions would moſt probably have given birth to mutual accuſations, and each Pretender to the throne would doubtleſs have found his intereſt in ruining the character, and blaſting the reputation of his rival.

Q. Curtius[g] hath given us notwithſtanding a detail of this imaginary conſpiracy. Alexander had been long diſſatisfied with Antipater, and

διαδεξαμενε την βασιλειαν, πολλης συγγαφεις μη τηλικαν γεγαψαι περι φαρμακειας" (Dioď. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.) Pliny mentions it, and adds with becoming aſperity, that Ariſtotle was very ſhamefully a Privy Counſellor on the occaſion. "Ungulas tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiam, quæ non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ, cum id dandum Alexandro Magno Antipater mitteret, memoria dignum eſt magna Ariſtotelis infamia excogitatum" (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 30. Tom. 4.--769, 770.) For an account of the Stygian water, ſee Vitruvius. Lib. 8. C. 3.--163. Amſt. 1649.

[g] Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--811——813. Juſtin hath entered into it more fully. "Auctor inſidiarum Antipater fuit, qui cum cariſſimos amicos ejus interfectos videret; Alexandrum Lynciſtam, generum ſuum occiſum; ſe magnis rebus in Græciâ geſtis, non tam gratum apud regem, quam invidioſum eſſe; a matre quoque ejus Olympiade variis ſe criminationibus vexatum. Huc accedebant ante paucos dies ſupplicia in præfectos devictarum nationum creduliter habita. Ex quibus rebus ſe quoque a Macedoniâ non ad ſocietatem militiæ, ſed ad pœnam evocatum arbitrabatur. Igitur ad occupandum regem, Caſſandrum filium dato veneno ſubornat, qui cum fratribus Philippo et Jollâ miniſtrare regi ſolebat: cujus veneni tanta vis fuit, ut non aëre, non ferro, non teſtâ contineretur, nec aliter ferri, niſi in ungulâ equi potuerit; præmonito filio, ne alii quam Theſſalo et fratribus, crederet. Hac igitur ex cauſâ apud Theſſalum paratum, repetitumque convivium eſt. Philippus et Jollas prægustare ac temperare potum regis ſoliti, in aquâ frigidâ venenum habuerunt, quam prægustatæ jam potioni ſupermiſerunt." (Juſt. Lib. 12. C. 14.--338, 339.)——A late noble Author, who, finiſhed his Political career, after baſking in the warm ſunſhine of a Court, by paſſing through the Torrid Zone of Miniſterial Perſecution, into the Frozen Region of Oblivion, hath touched in his uſual animated manner on the Macedonian Monarch's character and end. "Alexander had violent paſſions, and thoſe for Wine and Women were predominant, after his ambition. They were ſpots in his character, before they prevailed by the force of habit: as ſoon as they began to do ſo, the King and Hero appeared leſs, the Rake and Bully more. Perſepolis was burnt at the inſtigation of Thais, and Clitus

and was believed to have ſent Craterus with orders to deſtroy him. The Macedonian governor eſcaped the blow, and delivered to Caſſander a mortal poiſon, which he was directed to give his brother Iòalas, the Royal cup-bearer, who was to introduce it into the Monarch's cup. This fable hath afforded grounds for many writers [h] to ſuſpect that he died by a violent death, but Arrian [i] relates the conſpiracy, rather that he might not appear to have been ignorant of it, than from any idea of its authenticity.—According to Plutarch, there were not any ſuſpicions that Alexander fell by poiſon at the time of his death, and they were moſt probably firſt circulated by Olympias, who had vowed an eternal hatred to Antipater. Eight years after the death of her Son, to overwhelm with infamy the memory of Antipater, ſhe ſcattered in

tus was killed in a drunken brawl. He repented indeed of thoſe two horrible actions, and was again the King and Hero upon many occaſions; but he had not been enough upon his guard, when the ſtrongeſt incitements to vanity and ſenſual pleaſures offered themſelves, at every moment, to him: and when he ſtood, in all his eaſy hours, ſurrounded by Women, Eunuchs, by the Panders, Paraſites and Buffoons of a voluptuous Court, they, who could not approach the King, approached the Man, and by ſeducing the Man, they betrayed the King. His faults became habits. The Macedonians, who did not, or would not ſee the one, ſaw the other; and he fell a ſacrifice to their reſentments, to their fears, and to thoſe factions, that will ariſe under an odious government, as well as under one that grows into contempt." (Idea of a Patriot King. Lord Bolingbroke's Works. Vol. 3.--112, 113. 4to 1777.) Whether the Conqueror of Aſia died in conſequence of his own intemperance, or fell by poiſon, is one of thoſe Problems, on which there may be ſtill much Argument exhauſted without conviction.

[h] Ælian. De Nat. Animal. Lib. 5. C. 29. Tom. 1.--272. 4to 1744.—Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. De Fort.—Sext. Emp. contra Grammat. Lib. 1. C. 12.—Pauſanias. Lib. 8.--636.—Tacitus. Annal. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--121, 122. 4to Paris. 1771.

[i] "Και ταυτα εμοι, ὡς μη αγνοειν δοξαιμι μαλλον ὁτι λεγομενα εϛιν, η ὡς πιϛα ες αφηγησιν αναγεγραφθω." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 27.--542.

in the wind the aſhes of Ioalas, who had been unjuſtly accuſed of having diſtributed the fatal potion.[k] Under the pretence alſo of puniſhing his accomplices, ſhe put to death a multitude of perſons, equally the victims of her vengeance and caprice.

The Royal diary reports the death of Alexander, on the twenty-eighth day of the month Dæſius, of the Macedonian year, which anſwers to the month Thargalion, the laſt of the Attic year.[l] This important event may be then aſcertained to have happened at the end of the firſt year of the 114th Olympiad, when Hegeſias was Archon, 430 years after the foundation of Rome, and 324 before Chriſt. Alexander was thirty-two years, ten months, and twenty-two days old, when he died, inſtead of thirty-two years and eight months, three days excepted, according to Ariſtobulus,[m] and he reigned twelve years and eight months.[n] The Jeſuit Petau fixes, without authority, the death of Alexander, at the commencement of the firſt year of the 114th Olympiad.[o] Corſini[p] hath

k "Φαρμακειας δε ὑποψιαν αυτικα μεν ηδεις εσχεν. Ἑκτῳ δε ετει φασιν μηνυσεως γενομενης, την Ολυμπιαδα πολλας μεν ανελειν, εκφυγαι δε τα λειψανα τῳ Ιοαλα τεθνηκοτος, ὡς τοτε το φαρμακον εγχεαντος." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--707.

l "Ετελευτα μεν δη Αλεξανδρος τη τεταρτη καὶ δεκατη καὶ ἑκατοστη Ολυμπιαδι, επι Ἡγησιου Αρχοντος Αθηνησιν." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

m "Εβιω δε δυο καὶ τριακοντα ετη, καὶ τω τριτω μηνας επελαβεν οκτω, ὡς λεγει Αριστοβουλος." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

n "Εβασιλευσε δε δωδεκα ετη." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 28.--542.

o Petavius De Doctrin. Temper. Tom. 2.--859.

p Corſini. Fact. Attic. Tom. 4.--50——54.

hath refuted the opinion with great ability, and with a force of reaſoning that wants no aſſiſtance.

Are we to believe the writers of Alexander's life, who have aſſured us, that he did not name a ſucceſſor, and that he replied only in general terms, when his inclinations were conſulted on the future government of his empire, that he left it to the moſt worthy and deſerving?[q] A declaration of this kind appears at firſt to be contradicted by the Book of Maccabees, but the diſagreement may poſſibly be explained away, without either doubts of that part of the ſacred writings, or a violation of critical conſiſtency.

We learn from the Book of Maccabees, according to the Vulgate,[r] with which the Greek text[s] and the Syriac verſion correſpond,

q "Querentibus his, cui relinqueret regnum? reſpondit ei, qui eſſet optimus." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--781.) "Οι δε ϗ ταδε ανεγραψαν, ερεσθαι μεν τους ἑταιρους αυτου, ὁτω την βασιλειαν απολειπει· τον δε ὑποκρινεσθαι, ὁτι τω Κρατιϛω." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 26. --540.) "Cum deficere eum amici viderent, quærunt, quem imperii faciat hæredem. Reſpondit, digniſſimum." (Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 15.--341.) "Των δε φιλων επερωτωντων, τινι την βασιλειαν απολειπεις; ειπε, τω Κρατιϛω." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.

r "Et poſt hæc decidit in lectum et cognovit quia moreretur. Et vocavit pueros ſuos nobiles, qui ſecum erant nutriti a juventute, et diviſit illis regnum ſuum, cum adhuc viveret." 1. Maccab. C. 1.--5, 6.

s "Και μετα ταυτα επεσεν επι την κοιτην, ϗ εγνω ὁτι αποθνησκει· Και εκαλεσε τους παιδας αυτω τους ενδοξους τους συντροφους αυτου απο νεοτητος, ϗ διειλεν αυτοις την βασιλειαν αυτου ετι ζωντος αυτου" (1. Maccab. C. 1.--5, 6.)—For an explication of the "Παιδας" or "Pueros," ſee Menochius. Comment. Script. Tom. 2. Ed. Aven. 356.

ſpond, that Alexander, "fell ſick, and perceived that he ſhould die. Wherefore he called his ſervants, ſuch as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive."[t]

The general meaning of this paſſage hath been differently underſtood by various commentators; but it may be placed, notwithſtanding, in a new light, by a few ſimple obſervations. The expreſſion, "he parted his kingdom among them," may be taken in a more reſtricted ſenſe than it hath uſually been underſtood, and may ſignify that Alexander divided his empire amongſt his great men as Satraps, without any intention of diſtributing to them their reſpective diſtricts, as Sovereigns of ſo many little and detached kingdoms.——We read in the eighth and ninth verſes of the firſt chapter of the firſt Book of Maccabees, that. "His ſervants bare rule every one in his place. And after his death they all put crowns upon themſelves."[w] This account perfectly aſcertains the conduct of the Macedonian Monarch's ſucceſſors, who firſt extending their power, ſecured themſelves by the deaths of their competitors, and then proclaiming themſelves kings, uſurped the Royal diadem. The text of Scripture clearly diſcriminates two facts. Alexander's choice of many of his grandees to govern the different parts of the kingdom, and their uſur-

[t] 1. Maccabees. Chap. 1. Verſes 5, 6.

[w] "Και επεκρατησαν οι παιδες αυτε εκαστος εν τω τοπω αυτε· Και επεδεντο παντες διαδηματα μετα το αποθανειν αυτον, και οι υιοι αυτων οπισω αυτων ετη πολλα" 1. Maccab. C. 1.--8, 9.

pation of Royalty, after the death of the Macedonian Monarch, who had no ideas of wreſting the ſceptre out of the hands of his deſcendants. If the author of the Book of Maccabees had intended to inſinuate, that Alexander's choice carried along with it the right of mounting the throne, he would not undoubtedly have diſtinguiſhed in ſuch a decided manner the emblems of Royalty, which they ſo preſumptuouſly arrogated. The inheritance of a crown, and its uſurpation by the ſame individual, include a contradiction.

The firſt of theſe facts is not literally mentioned in any profane author, but it appears to be a neceſſary conſequence of the events, which they relate, as they ſuppoſe it to have happened. It is ſtrengthened alſo by a tradition, the veſtiges of which, are to be found both with the Ancients, and all the nations of the Eaſt.

Aridæus the brother of Alexander, mounted the throne, on the death of the Conqueror of Aſia,[x] and after a reign of ſome years died; but the Macedonian Monarch's generals, who had only the authority which they exerciſed under his name, and that of his children, did not ſtill venture to declare themſelves kings. Roxana and her ſon having been put to death by the order of Caſſander,

[x] "Ευθυς δε βασιλεα κατεςησαν τον Φιλιππȣ υἱον Αρριδαιον, ϗ μετωνομασαν Φιλιππον." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.) Juſtin hath given more at large a detail of the immediate diſputes on Alexander's death, which ends with the "In Aridæum regem conſentiunt. *Servata* eſt portio regni Alexandri filio, ſi natus eſſet." (Juſtin. Lib. 13. C. 2, 3, 4.--351——355.) And Q. Curtius hath entered into them ſtill more fully, Lib. 10. C. 7, 8, 9. Tom. 2.--788——807.

ſander,[y] and Hercules the ſon of Barcine by Polyperchon,[z] the ambition of Antigonus was no longer reſtrained by any bounds, and finding his duplicity no further neceſſary, he openly laid claim to the title and ornaments of Royalty.[a] His rivals ſoon followed the example. Till this period, the different governors and generals had uſurped the power, and extended the territories of their maſter, under the ſpecious pretext of his ſervice, and obedience to his commands.[b] Seleucus had ſubmitted indeed with impatience to this artifice, and though he had always fears and apprehenſions of appearing before the Macedonians with any external marks of Royalty, he had not ſcrupulouſly confined himſelf

y "Κασσανδρ@ δε ὁρων Αλεξανδρον τον εκ Ρωξανης αυξανομενον, κ᾽ κατα την Μακεδονιαν λογες ὑπο τινων διαδιδομενες, ὁτι καθηκει τροαγειν εκ της φυλακης τον παιδα, κ᾽ την πατρωαν βασιλειαν παραδιδοναι, φοβηθεις ὑπερ ἑαυτυ, τροσεταξε Γλαυκια τω τροεστηκοτι της τε παιδ@ φυλακης την μεν Ρωξανην κ᾽ τον βασιλεα κατασφαξαι, κ᾽ κρυψαι τα σωματα, το δε γεγον@ μεδενι των αλλων απαγγειλαι· τοιησαντ@ δ᾽αυτε το τροσταχθεν, ὁι τερι Κασσανδρον, κ᾽ Λυσιμαχον κ᾽ Πτολεμαιον, ετι δ᾽Αντιγονον, απηλλαγησαν των ὑπο τε βασιλεως τροσδοκωμενων φοβων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19.--398, 399.

z "Αμα δε τυτοις τραττομενοις, Πολυσπερχον, μεν ηθροικως ἀδραν δυναμιν, κατηγαγεν επι την πατρωαν βασιλειαν Ἡρακλεα τον Αλεξανδρε κ᾽ Βαρσινης——————δεισας ὁ Κασσανδρ@ μηποτε φυσει τρος μεταβολην οντει οξεις ὁι Μακεδονες αυτομολησωσι τρος τον Ἡρακλεα, διεπρεσβευσατο τρος Πολυσπερχοντα." The iſſue of the embaſſy follows in a few words. "Περας δε, πολλαις κ᾽ μεγαλαις επαγγελιαις πεισας τον Πολυσπερχοντα, κ᾽ συνθηκας εν απορρητοις συνθεμενος, τροετρεψατο δολοφονησαι τον βασιλεα." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--425.

a Diodorus Siculus however informs us, that Antigonus took the favourable moment of ſome military ſucceſs againſt Ptolemy to declare himſelf King. "Ὁ δ᾽Αντιγον@, τυθομεν@ την γενεμενην νικην, κ᾽ μετεωρισθεις επι τω μεγεθει τε τροτερηματ@, διαδημα τεριεθετο, κ᾽ το λοιτον εχρηματιζε βασιλευς." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--445.) And Plutarch confirms the ſuppoſition. Vit. Demet. Tom. 1.--896. And Juſtin alſo, Lib. 15. C. 2.--395.

b "Quippe paulo ante regis miniſtri, ſpecie imperii alieni procurandi, ſinguli ingentia invaſerant regna." Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--809.

to ſuch reſtrictions, when he gave audience to foreigners, and ſtrangers.[c] If Alexander had diſtributed the full Sovereignty of the different provinces to the great men, that he made choice of, his orders would have been at leaſt in part executed, and they would not have failed to publiſh their titles to the high ſtations, which they occupied. Inſtead of any proclamations of this kind, the Royal family continued to be reſpected, and enjoyed its rights as long as any branch of it exiſted,[d] and till the death of Perdiccas and of Eumenes, who were conſidered as its protectors,[e] had left an open field for the diſputes of the contending parties. It may perhaps be objected, that the Macedonian grandees parcelled out the empire,[f] but we may eaſily diſcover, that the credit and authority of the ſeveral Pretenders were the only obſtacles, that counteracted Alexander's laſt wiſhes.

In

[c] "Και γαρ Λυσιμαχος ηξιατο φορειν διαδημα, κ) Σελευκος εντυγχανων τοις Ελλησιν· επει τοις γε Βαρβαροις προτερον, ὑτως ὡς βασιλευς εχρηματιζε." De Vit. Demetrii. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--896.

[d] "Hujus honoris ornamenta tamdiu omnes abſtinuerunt, quamdiu filii regis ſui ſupereſſe potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut, cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus æquo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro juſtus hæres fuit." Juſtin. Lib. 15. C. 2.--395.

[e] "Alexandro Babylone mortuo, quum regna ſingulis familiaribus diſpartirentur, et ſumma rerum tradita eſſet tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens annulum ſuum dederat, Perdiccæ: ex quo omnes conjecerant, eum regnum ei commendaſſe, quoad liberi ejus in ſuam tutelam perveniſſent." (Corn. Nep. de Vit. Eumenis. C. 2.--505—507.) "Petiit autem ab Eumene abſente, ne pateretur, Philippi domus et familiæ inimiciſſimos ſtirpem quoque interimere, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri. Quam veniam ſi ſibi daret, quam primum exercitus pararet, quos ſibi ſubſidio adduceret. Id quo facilius faceret, ſe omnibus præfectis, qui in officio manebant, miſſiſſe literas, ut ei parerent, ejuſque conſilio uterentur." Corn. Nepos. de Vit. Eumenis. C. 6.--525.

[f] Q. Curtius. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--807——809.——Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18.

In that ſpecies of military anarchy, which followed Alexander's death, power naturally prevailed over right, and became the only rule of the illegal and unequal diviſion of the empire, that enſued. It is poſſible, that Perdiccas, who preſided at the numerous deliberations, in which the fate of the empire [g] was decided, might, either from caprice or intereſted views, have made ſome changes in the directions of his maſter, from whom he received a ring as a ſort of appointment to the offices of executor of his orders, of protector of the kingdom, and of guardian to his children. [h] It is natural to imagine, that this general, who was attached to Alexander by the ties of blood, [i] might be the perſon that he had in contemplation, when he anſwered, "to the moſt worthy and deſerving," on being aſked how he wiſhed to diſpoſe of the kingdom; and that he intended only to veſt the regency in him, during the minority of his children, without the remoteſt idea of altering the ſucceſſion, and giving him the power of tranſmitting it to his family, in preference to his own immediate deſcendants. Perhaps alſo the Macedonian Monarch, leaving only children in a ſtate of infancy, by widows or daughters of the natives of the countries, that

[g] "Perdicca, perducto in urbem exercitu, conſilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--807.) "Ουτω δε παραλαβων την των ὁλων ἡγεμονιαν, ϗ συνεδρευσας μετα των ἡγεμονων, Πτολεμαιω μεν τω Λαγω την Αιγυπτον εδωκε, Λαομεδοντι δε τω Μιτυληναιω Συριαν, &c. &c. &c." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.

[h] "Επιμελητην δε της βασιλειας Περδικκαν, ὡ ϗ ὁ βασιλευς τον δακτυλιον τελευτων εδεδωκει" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.

[i] "Κυνανη Φιλιππε δυγατης——————γημαμενη δε Αμυντα τω Περδικκα" Polyæni. Strat. Lib. 8. --816.

that he had conquered, was cautious of declaring them in expreſs terms his ſucceſſors, from the fear of inſulting the Macedonians. Such might have been his reaſons, and with theſe ſentiments he might have conſidered it prudent, to leave his grandees the liberty of chooſing out of his own family, the ſucceſſor moſt capable, in their opinions, of ſuſtaining the weight of empire, and filling up the void by his loſs. The laſt words of the Macedonian Monarch will plauſibly admit of this explication, and by the diſtribution of his conqueſts, as Satrapies, he might flatter himſelf the ambition of the great men would be ſatisfied, and that their veneration of his memory would preſerve to his children the Supreme power and Sovereignty. Yet there is a poſſibility that even the laſt words of Alexander have been ſuppoſed by his officers, and this ſuggeſtion is rather favourable to the Book of Maccabees. The doubts of the Prince's intention exculpated in the minds of the troops their tumultuous behaviour, and were ſome excuſe for the different pretenſions, in the ſupport of which torrents of blood were ſoon ſhed.[k] From the ſame motives, the expiring Monarch

[k] "Oroſius in a profuſion of metaphor, opens his narrative of the Macedonian diſſentions with, "At ego nunc revocor, ut per hæc eadem tempora———quæ inter ſe bella geſſerint Macedonum duces, revolvam qui mortuo Alexandro diverſas ſortiti provincias, mutuis ſe bellis conſumpſerunt, quorum ego tumultuoſiſſimum tempus ita mihi ſpectare videor, quaſi aliqua immenſa caſtra per noctem de ſpeculâ montis adſpectans, nihil in magno campi ſpatio præter innumeros focos cernam: ita per totum Macedoniæ regnum, hoc eſt per univerſam Aſiam et plurimam Europæ partem, Lybiæque vel maximam, horrendi ſubito bellorum globi colluxerunt! Qui cum ea præcipue loca, in quibus exarſere, populati ſunt, reliqua omnia terrore rumoris, quaſi fumi caligine, turbaverunt. ———Alexander per duodecim annos trementem ſub ſe orbem ferro preſſit. Principes vero ejus quatuordecim annis dilaniaverunt, et veluti opimam prædam a magno leone proſtratam avidi diſcerpſere

Monarch is imagined to have foreſeen the fatal diſſentions, that his death would produce, and the very extraordinary funeral games that would attend[l] it.

We are told by many ancient authors, whoſe entire works have not reached us, that Alexander diſtributed by a will the different provinces of his empire. The expreſſions of Q. Curtius on this ſubject are by no means equivocal, and they agree with the Book of Maccabees. We are not to conclude, however, with the Latin hiſtorian, that theſe traditions were falſe,[m] and, on the contrary, it may be reaſonably preſumed, that Alexander's ſucceſſors might influence the pens of their cotemporary writers, and prevent a publication of the Prince's teſtamentary diſpoſitions. Political ſagacity pointed out to them, that, without having been choſen, the title of Royalty, which firſt aroſe from the powers, which Alexander had confided to the great men around him, "whilſt he was yet alive," and which they afterwards uſurped on the death of the different branches of the Royal family, was literally extinct, and that the people, oppreſſed by their deſpotic governments, might

diſcerpſere catuli: ſeque ipſos invicem in rixam irritatos prædæ æmulatione fregerunt." Oroſius. Lib. 3. C. 23.--201. 4to L. B. 1767.

l "Ceterum providere jam ob id certamen, magnos funebres ludos parari ſibi." (Q. Curt. Lib. 10. C. 5. Tom. 2.--781.) "Αποθνησκων δε, προς τους ἑταιρους ιδων, εφη, Μεγαν ὁρω μου τον επιταφιον εσομενον." Plutarch. Apothegm. Tom. 2.--181.

m "Credidere quidam teſtamento Alexandri diſtributas eſſe provincias; ſed famam hujus rei, quamquam ab auctoribus tradita eſt, vanam fuiſſe comperimus." Q. Curtius, Lib. 10. C. 10. Tom. 2.--809.

might have ſeized the pretext to emancipate themſelves. Q. Curtius is not the only writer of antiquity, who mentions the laſt diſpoſitions of the Macedonian Monarch. Diodorus Siculus aſſures us, that he had depoſited with the Rhodians, a teſtament, containing his directions concerning his empire,[n] and Ammianus Marcellinus ſpeaks alſo of this will, in which he had named his ſucceſſor.[o] Moſes of Chorene,[p] a writer of the fifth century and of ſome authority, hath not forgotten alſo the diviſion of the Eaſtern empire, nor the laſt diſpoſitions of the Conqueror. Malala[q] tells us in his chronicle, that Alexander juſt before he expired, gave directions that the governors, whom he appointed in the different provinces, ſhould reign in them, and the author of the chronicle, of which Scaliger publiſhed[r] an extract, agrees with Malala, but the teſtimony of theſe writers of the middle age deſerves little credit, for they have in fact but copied the Book of Maccabees.

The

[n] "Τον δε πλειςον ισχυαντα των μνημονευομενων Αλεξανδρον, προτιμησαντ' αυτην μαλιςα των πολεων ϗ την ὑπερ ὁλης της βασιλειας διαθηκην εκει θεσθαι." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--464.

[o] "Ut bella pretereamus Alexandri, et teſtamento nationem omnem in ſucceſſoris unius jura tranſlatam." Amm. Marcellinus. Lib. 23. C. 6.--398.

[p] "Igitur Alexander ille Macedo————totius orbis imperio potitus, cum regnum ſuum inter plures teſtamento partitus eſt, ita tamen ut Macedonum imperium generatim univerſeque appellaretur, ipſe e vita exceſſit." Hiſt. Armen. ex Vers. Whiſton. Lib. 2. C. 1.--82, 83.

[q] "Μελλων δε τελευταν ὁ αυτος Αλεξανδρος, διεταξατο ὡςε παντας τους συν αυτω ὑπερασπιςας ϗ συμμαχους βασιλευειν της αυτης χωρας, ὁπου ην αυτους εασας, ϗ κρατειν των εκεισε τοπων." Malal. Chronic. Lib. 8.--82. Apud Byzant. Script. Tom. 23. Ed. Venet.

[r] Chronic. 72.

The Eaſtern nations have preſerved in their writings, ſome remains of the traditions reſpecting the partition of the empire, which Alexander made, and the Tarikh-Montekheb intimates, "that the King divided, a little before his death, the provinces of Perſia amongſt the deſcendants of the princes, that he had ſtripped of them, on the condition of their doing him fealty and homage."[s] Sangiac-Tharikele adds, that after Alexander's death, theſe Feudatory or tributary princes became independent Sovereigns. But the diviſion of Perſia, amongſt the iſſue of the dethroned princes is an error, and by the Feudatory princes, theſe authors undoubtedly meant Satraps, who had almoſt as extenſive an authority, as the vaſſals of the ancient European monarchs. Cyrus, to ſupply the wants of his vaſt empire, and to relieve himſelf and his ſucceſſors from the fatigues of ſuch an extended government, created the office of Satraps, to whom he delegated his authority. Theſe Satraps exerciſed indeed powers almoſt without bounds. They had the right of levying taxes and impoſitions, and they were even charged with the payment of the troops in their governments,[t] which were given in Apanage to the ſons of the Perſian monarchs. Hyſtaſpes the ſon of Xerxes, held Bactria as Satrap,[w] and the younger Cyrus enjoyed under the ſame title,

 the

[s] Herbelot. Bibliotheque Orientale. 318.—See alſo Mirkhoud. Sect. 21.

[t] "Σατραπας πεμψει μοι δοκει, οιτινες αξουσι των ενοικουντων, και τον δασμον λαμβανοντες τοις τε φευξοις δωσουσι μισθον, και αλλο τελεσουσιν οι τι αν δεη" Xenoph. Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--637. 4to 1727.

[w] "Υστασπης, αποδημων, κατ'εκεινον τον καιρον· ειχε γαρ την εν Βακτροις σατραπειαν" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 11. Tom. 1.--457.) The Baron de St. Croix ſtyles Hyſtaſpes "fils d'Artaxerxes," but

the government of Aſia Minor. We may judge from the preliminaries of his campaign, which terminated with the battle of Cunaxa, of the great and important powers intruſted to a Satrap, and how dangerous the office was in the hands either of an ambitious perſon, or one with military abilities of any conſequence.

Alexander not only adopted the manners of the Perſians, but even their principles and form of government, and eſtabliſhed Satraps in all his empire. Moſt of the hiſtorians, who have ſpoken of the diviſion of it, which he made at his death, have intended by Satrapies to ſpecify the portions which fell to the ſhare of each of his generals, and gave the titles of Satraps to the governors of them. Appian,[x] in mentioning the events, which followed the Macedonian Monarch's death, informs us, that theſe generals from being Satraps became Kings. Yet this was by an abuſe of their power. When Alexander made the partition of his kingdom, "whilſt he was yet alive," he undoubtedly was not aware of the danger attending ſuch appointments, which were originally little different from thoſe, that Cyrus juſt before his death conferred upon his friends, who appeared to him moſt proper to be intruſted with the government of his kingdom.[y] The ſame conſequences might

but he was the ſon of Xerxes, according to Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 11. Tom. 1.--456.) and I have rectified the error.

x "Και βασιλεις απαντες εκ Σατραπων εγιγνοντο" (Appian. de Bell. Syriac. Tom. 1.--197. 8vo Amſt. 1670.) Juſtin hath the ſame idea, "Sic reges ex præfectis facti." Lib. 8. C. 4.--361.

y "Επειτα δε ὡς εγιγνωσκε των φιλων επι τοις ειρημενοις επιθυμουντας ειναι, εκλεξαμενος αυτων τους δοκουντας επιτηδειοτατους ειναι, επεμπε Σατραπας" Xenoph. Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--638.

might have flowed from them, if Cyrus, like Alexander, had only left a brother of inferior talents, and children in a ſtate of infancy, or likely to be born.——The Prophecy of Daniel, reſpecting the Macedonian Conqueror, authorizes the explication, that hath been given of the ſeventh verſe of the firſt Book of Maccabees, and agrees with the relation of the profane writers.[z] After having announced that, "a[a] mighty king ſhall ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will,"[b] the Prophet continues his predictions in the following terms, "and[c] when he ſhall ſtand up, his kingdom ſhall be broken, and ſhall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom ſhall be plucked up even for others beſides theſe."[d] Daniel wiſhed to indicate by theſe expreſſions, that the united empire of the Macedonian Monarch ſhould after his death be divided, and the event juſtifies the prediction. Not only the conqueſts of the Macedonian Monarch were ſplit into four great detached kingdoms, but even ſtrangers according to the Vulgate,[e] or ſimply other individuals,

[z] Arrian. De rebus poſt Alexandrum apud Photium. 215.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2. --258.—Dexippus apud Photium. 202.—Juſtin. Lib. 13. C. 7.--357——361.

[a] "Και αναςησεται βασιλευς δυνατ☉ κ☽ κυριευσει κυρειας πολλης, κ☽ ποιησει κατα το θελημα αυτυ." Daniel. C. 11. V. 3.

[b] Daniel. Chap. 11. Verſe 3.

[c] "Και ὡς αν ςη ἡ βασιλεια αυτυ, συντριβησεται, κ☽ διαιρεθησεται εις τυς τεσσαρας ανεμυς τυ ὐρανυ, κ☽ ουκ εις τα εσχατα αυτυ, ουδε κατα την κυρειαν αυτυ, ἡν εκυριευσεν, ὁτι εκτιλησεται ἡ βασιλεια αυτυ, κ☽ ἑλεροις εκτ☉ τουτων." Daniel. C. 11. V. 4.

[d] Daniel. Chap. 11. Verſe 4.

[e] "Lacerabitur enim regnum etiam in externos exceptis his." Daniel. C. 11. V. 4.

dividuals, agreeable to the Hebrew text and Septuagint,[f] had a ſhare in the diſmemberment, and proclaimed themſelves kings. Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Dexippus and Juſtin, have furniſhed us with the names of many of the great men[g] who filled theſe employments, and in the diſtant provinces, they took advantage of the Macedonian diſſentions to eſtabliſh their authority and independence. Theodotus of Bactria, firſt ſhook off the Macedonian yoke, and the example was ſoon followed by the neighbouring nations.[h]

[f] "Και ἑτεροις εκτος τουτων" Daniel. C. 11. V. 4.

[g] "Arrien, Diodore, Dexippe et Juſtin, nous apprennent que pluſieurs Satrapes des provinces eloignées de l'Orient profiterent des diſſentions des Macedoniens, pour ſe ſouſtraire à leur domination." The Baron de St. Croix in ſupport of the aſſertion, refers his readers to Photii Biblioth. 215, 216.—Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--258.—Juſtin. Lib. 13. C. 4.--355——361.—But theſe authors, in the paſſages referred to, principally confine themſelves to the diſtribution of the provinces after Alexander's death.

[h] "Theodotus mille urbium Bactrianarum præfectus, defecit, regemque ſe appellari juſſit: quod exemplum ſecuti totius Orientis populi a Macedonibus defecere." Juſtin. Lib. 41. C. 4.--686.

END OF THE THIRD SECTION.

SECT.

SECTION. IV.

"—ORBIS SITUM DICERE AGGREDIOR, IMPEDITUM OPUS, ET FACUNDIÆ MINIME CAPAX."

P. MELÆ PROŒMIUM.

THE ancient hiſtorians, collected with great labour and attention the materials for their works. The moderns have been reproached with compiling in their cloſets and at their eaſe memoirs of the facts with which they are acquainted, and ſupplying, by the help of imagination, any chaſm that might remain to be filled up. Reports, often faithleſs and commonly inſufficient, concerning the countries, which have been the theatres of the events, that they pretend to deſcribe, are almoſt the whole reſource of this claſs of authors.—Polybius ſcaled the ſummit of the Alps, to trace out with fidelity the march of Hannibal, and he matured his hiſtory, by adding to his own reflections the advantages acquired from a knowledge of the world, which he reaped from his travels. The wiſdom of the plan was indeed caught from Herodotus, whoſe deſcriptions are ſo very exact, as to be in general preferable to thoſe

thoſe of the later writers, and, in the inſtances reſpecting Alexander's expeditions, even to the geographical details of the Conqueror's own hiſtorians.

The knowledge of the terreſtrial globe, was undoubtedly extended by the companions of the Macedonian Monarch's arms, but, without allowing themſelves time for cool and ſerious reflection, they took up every thing from its firſt impreſſion, which is frequently inaccurate, and their cotemporaries, dazzled with their proſperity, fell into their errors.

OF ASIA MINOR.

The learned Salmaſius[a] hath well obſerved, that Q. Curtius[b] confounds the Marſyas, which paſſed by Celæne, a city deſtroyed, and afterwards rebuilt at ſome diſtance from its original ſituation, under the name of Apamea, by Antiochus Soter,[c] with the Lycus, which bathed the walls of Laodicea. Theſe two rivers threw themſelves

[a] Salmaſii Exercit. Plin. 582.

[b] "Ad urbem Celænus exercitum admovit. Mediam illâ tempeſtate interfluebat Marſyas amnis." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--51, 52.

[c] Strabo. Lib. 12.--866.

themſelves into the Meander, at the diſtance from each other of more than five hundred ſtadia, from the North to the South-Eaſt, in Pacatian Phrygia. [d]

Q. Curtius, ſpeaking of Alexander's arrival at Gordium, the capital of Phrygia, and which had been formerly the reſidence of Midas, aſſures us, that this city was ſituated on the river Sangaris, and at an equal diſtance from the ſeas of Pontus and Cilicia. [e] Gordium, which was reduced to an inſignificant village in the time of Strabo, [f] was afterwards reſtored under the reign of Auguſtus, and had the name of Juliopolis. [g] Monſieur d' Anville, [h] places it twenty-five leagues from the Pontus Euxinus, and eighty-four from the ſea of Cilicia, equivalent to the Latitude of forty degrees and ten minutes, agreeable to Ptolemy, [i] and the ſituation is authorized alſo by the diſtance between Juliopolis and Conſtantinople, according to the itinerary of Antonine. [k] Q. Curtius hath therefore

[d] See la Carte de l'Aſie Minor par d'Anville.

[e] "Tunc habebat quondam nobilem Midæ regiam; Gordium nomen eſt urbi, quam Sangarius amnis interfluit, pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari diſtantem." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--55, 56.

[f] "Οὐδ' ἰχνη σωζοντα πολεων, αλλα κωμαι, μικρω μειζες των αλλων." Strabo. Lib. 12.--852.

[g] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. C. 39. Tom. 1.--624.—Strabo. Lib. 12.--869.

[h] La Carte de l'Aſie Minor par d'Anville.

[i] Geograph. Lib. 5. C. 2.

[k] Antonini Itin. Ed. Weſſeling. 142——144.

therefore fixed this city, twenty-ſeven leagues farther Southward than he ought to have done. [l]

The Latin hiſtorian is guilty of a more conſiderable error, in giving to the iſthmus of Aſia Minor the Longitude of Gordium, though it is formed by that portion of land ſituated between the gulph of Amiſus and that of Tarſus, near the mouth of the Cydnus. [m] It is therefore five degrees to the Eaſt nearer Gordium. [n] Something may perhaps be diſcovered in the text of Q. Curtius to juſtify him, but it will, notwithſtanding, be very difficult to make any ſenſe of the following paſſage. [o] "Theſe ſeas almoſt unite, having but a ſmall neck of land to part them, each ſea ſtriving to encroach upon the land, and reducing it into a narrow ſtrait. But yet though it reaches the Continent, and as it is almoſt ſurrounded with water, it ſeems to repreſent an iſland; inſomuch, that were it not for this ſlender partition, theſe ſeas would join." [p]—The iſthmus, which joins that part of Aſia Minor to the great

[l] Yet Titus Livy ſeems to entertain the ſame opinion as to the ſituation of Gordium. "Poſtero die ad Gordium pervenit. Id haud magnum quidem oppidum eſt, ſed plus, quam Mediterraneum, celebre et frequens emporium, tria maria pari ferme diſtantia intervallo habet." Lib. 38. C. 18. Tom. 5.--191.

[m] Strabo. Lib. 14.--990.

[n] La Carte de l'Aſie Minor par d'Anville.

[o] "Inter hæc maria anguſtiſſimum Aſiæ ſpatium eſſe comperimus, utroque in artas fauces compellente terram. Quæ quia Continenti adhæret, ſed magnâ ex parte cingitur fluctibus, ſpeciem inſulæ præbet; ac niſi tenue diſcrimen objiceret, maria, quæ nunc dividit, committeret." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--56.

[p] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 1.--149.

great Continent of this quarter of the world, and the country between the gulphs of Amiſus and Tarſus, was divided into three great kingdoms, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, embracing an extent of twenty degrees of Latitude, and is deſcribed, as one might have ſuppoſed, that of Corinth would have been.

Arrian hath confounded the Greater Phrygia,[q] watered by the Sangaris, of which Galatia, where the ancient Gordium ſtood, was once a part, with the Leſſer Phrygia; more diſtinguiſhed by Phrygia above the Helleſpont, in which the Troad was included.[r] This error, as Cellarius[s] remarks, produced many others.—— Alexander marched from Gordium to Ancyra, a city of Galatia, according to Arrian.[t] It is certain that Ancyra, in the time of this hiſtorian, was a city of Galatia, but in the age of Alexander, this country which was only inhabited by the Gauls, about two hundred and fifty years before Chriſt, and took afterwards its name from them, was then called the Greater Phrygia. In the itinerary therefore of the Macedonian Monarch's army, the term of Greater Phrygia ſhould be preſerved.

[q] "Το δε Γορδιον εϛι μεν της Φρυγιας της εφ' Ελλεσποντῳ, κειται δε επι τῳ Σαγγαριῳ ποταμῳ." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 29.--100.

[r] Ptolemy (Lib. 5. C. 2.--117.) ſuppoſes the Leſſer Phrygia to have been the ſame with the Troad, though it was only a part of it. (See Strabo. Lib. 13.) Strabo allows that he has entered into a deſcription of the Troad, with ſome prolixity. Lib. 13.--871——878, &c.

[s] Geograph. Ant. Tom. 2.--97.

[t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 4.--111.

We find a ſimilar miſtake in Q. Curtius, and we are told, that Amphoterus and Hegelochus, reduced under ſubjection the iſlands between Achaia and Aſia.[w] Achaia was ſituated on the North of the Peloponneſus, and as it compriſed at that time no greater extent than in the days of Herodotus,[x] it ought not to be conſidered as the Continent oppoſite to Aſia, though its boundaries were enlarged under the Roman empire, and the term might then be a proper one.

The ancient geographical writers are not free from miſtakes of this kind, which they fell into from their inattention to hiſtory, which ought always to be connected with geography, and indeed renders it only uſeful. On this account the migrations of different nations, the various revolutions, and the limits and names of countries, that were either conquered, or exchanged their maſters, ſhould be diſcriminated, and the different periods of theſe ſeveral changes marked in a chronological manner. Stripped of theſe precautions, geography will be found a dry catalogue of names, which fatigues the memory without improving the underſtanding, and a number of anachroniſms and contradictions muſt inevitably follow. Aſia Minor in particular was ſubject to many revolutions, which, in the deſcription of this part of the world, are abſolutely neceſſary to be known; and Strabo, who joined to the views of the philoſopher great

[w] "Amphoterus et Hegelochus centum ſexaginta navium claſſe inſulas inter Achaiam atque Aſiam in ditionem Alexandri redegerunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.—193, 194.

[x] Herodotus. Lib. 1.—71, 72.

great geographical information, hath not overlooked them. "The migrations of the Greeks after the Trojan war," ſays the judicious writer, "that of the Treres, the Cimmerians, Lydians, and thoſe afterwards of the Perſians and Macedonians, and laſtly that of the Galatians have created great difficulties and confuſion. The removal of nations has not only been the cauſe of much obſcurity, but the different authors, who have written of the ſame places, have given them different names, and do not agree with each other. Phrygians are called Trojans, and with the licence of the tragic poets, the Lycians, Carians.

Notwithſtanding theſe impediments, every poſſible advantage ought to be endeavoured to be obtained, and where the darkneſs of ancient hiſtory cannot be diſſipated, (as the duty of the geographer is not ſolely confined to it). the actual ſituation of places ſhould be explained."[y] Theſe obſervations point out to us not only the changes that have happened in Aſia Minor, and the miſtakes, which they have occaſioned, but ſhew us the route that we ſhould take in our reſearches, and the uſe and benefit of them.

[y] "Μετα δε τα Τροικα αι τε των Ἑλληνων αποικιαι, κ) αι Τευρων, κ) αι Κιμμηριων εφοδοι, κ) Λυδων, κ) μετα ταυτα Περσων, κ) Μακεδονων, τελευταιον Γαλατων, ταραξαν παντα, κ) συνεχεαν· Γεγονε δε ἡ ασαφεια, ε δια τας μεταβολας μονον, αλλα κ) δια τας των συγγραφεων ανομολογιας, περι των αυτων ε τα αυτα λεγοντων· τες μεν Τρωας καλεντων Φευγας, καθαπερ οι τραγικοι, τες δε Λυκιες Καρας, κ) αλλες ἑτως·——

——Ὁμως δε καιπερ τοιετων οντων, πειρατεον διαιταν ἑκαστα εις δυναμιν, ὁ, τι δ' αν διαφευγοι της παλαιας ἱστοριας, τετο μεν εατεον (ε γαρ ενταυθα το της γεωγραφεως εργον) τοδε μεν ουν λεκτεον." Strabo. Lib. 12.--859, 860.

OF ÆGYPT AND LYBIA.

Little is to be gleaned reſpecting Ægypt in the hiſtory of Alexander's campaigns, which Diodorus Siculus hath left us. On the diviſion of the Satrapies after the Macedonian Monarch's death, he ſpeaks very ſuperficially of the provinces, which formed his immenſe empire, and the following paſſage hath neither a claim to accuracy nor preciſion.[z] "All the extremities of Cælo-Syria and the neighbouring deſerts, through which the Nile flows, ſeparating Ægypt from Syria." Short as this ſentence is, it may be ſtill difficult to conceive a juſt idea of what the Greek author meant. Cælo-Syria, properly ſo called, was ſituated in the middle of the country between Libanus and Anti Libanus,[a] and it extended under the reign of Alexander's ſucceſſors to all the Southern part of Syria, as far as the frontiers of Ægypt and Arabia.[b] Diodorus Siculus hath adopted the whole extent, and hath confounded alſo Arabia Petrea with the Arabia of Heroum, confined

[z] "Παρα δε τα περατα της κοιλης Συριας τ᾽ την συνεχως κειμενην ερημον, καθ᾽ ην ὁ Νειλος φερεμενος ὁριζει Συριαν τε τ᾽ την Αιγυπτον." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--261.

[a] "Κοιλησυρια καλειται· ιδιως δ᾽ η τω Λιβανω τ᾽ τω Αντιλιβανω αφωρισμενη." Strabo. Lib. 13. --1097.

[b] See the commentary of Euſtathius on Dionys. Perieges. V. 970.--123. Ed. Steph. 4to 1577.

confined to Ægypt, whoſe limits were bounded by the lake Serbonis, near the promontory Kas Kazaron or cape Delkas,[c] and the mount Caſſius of the Ancients.[d] The Ionians reduced Ægypt as far as the Delta, and pretended that the country to the Eaſt of the mouth of the Peluſiacus made part of Arabia, as the tract beyond that of the Canopus, was annexed to Lybia. This opinion, ably refuted by Herodotus,[e] was the ſource of all the errors of Diodorus Siculus, and alſo led him to ſtretch even to the Nile, that portion of Syria which ended at the lake Serbonis, and had the Arabia of Heroum to the South.——If Diodorus Siculus hath however extended too far to the limits of Syria, Arrian hath compreſſed them, when he tells us that Gaza was the laſt town on the road to Ægypt.[f] Syria had notwithſtanding many other remarkable cities, and amongſt them, Anthedon, Bethaila, Jenyſus, Raphea and Rhinocolura, according to Pliny,[g] the

[c] Ægypte Ancienne et Moderne par d'Anville. 99.

[d] Herodotus. Lib. 2.--106.

[e] Herodotus. Lib. 2.--110, 111. Where the Point is well argued.

[f] "Εσχατη δε ωκειτο, ὡς επ' Αιγυπτου εκ Φοινικης ιοντι." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 26. --174.) The Baron de St. Croix hath rendered the "Εσχατη δε ωκειτο" by "La derniere ville habitée" and Dr. Gillies (Hiſtory of Greece. Vol. 2.--609.) as well as Rooke, the tranſlator of Arrian, have underſtood the expreſſion in the ſame ſenſe. May I be permitted to doubt, whether Arrian did not rather mean to intimate, that Gaza was the city laſt built and peopled on the road to Ægypt.——By this conſtruction, the inadvertency, with which the Baron de St. Croix hath charged Arrian, is at an end, and Pliny's apparent contradiction will be no longer viſible.

[g] "Telles qu'Anthedon, Bethaila, Jenyſus, Raphia, et Rhinocolura, celleci, le dernier lieu de cette province ſelon Pline." I cannot comprehend how the "Oppida Rhinocolura, et intus Raphea:

the laſt of which ſtood on the confines of Syria towards Ægypt, and was nearly four hundred Olympic ſtadia from Gaza.

Q. Curtius informs us, that the country of Ammon was terminated to the Eaſt by the Æthiopians; to the South by the Troglodite Arabians, whoſe territories reached the Red Sea; to the Weſt by the Æthiopian Scenites, and to the North by the Naſamons.[h] We may collect ſome ideas of the accuracy of the Latin hiſtorian, from a compariſon of his poſition of theſe different nations with thoſe both of the ancient and modern geographers.

The Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, in Marmarica,[i] and not in the Cyrenaic, as Pliny[k] and Pomponius Mela[l] have advanced, had Lybia on the North, whoſe coaſts were inhabited, if we are to believe

Raphea: Gaza, et intus Anthedon," (Plin. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--566.) can warrant ſuch a ſentence. I have releaſed Pliny from the weight of the obligation, and made the Baron de St Croix accountable for his own aſſertions.

[h] "Adcolæ ſedis ſunt ab Oriente proximi Æthiopum: in meridiem verſus Arabes ſpectant, Troglodyti cognomen eſt: quorum regio uſque ad rubrum mare excurrit. At qua vergit ad Occidentem, alii Æthiopes colunt, quos ſcenitas vocant: a ſeptentrione Naſamones ſunt, gens Syriaca." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--212, 213.

[i] I doubt whether the "Οι Μαρμαριδαι προσχωρουντες επι πολυ τη Κυρηναια, και παρατεινοντες μεχρι Αμμωνος," (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1195.) will include the Oracle. See however Cellarii Geograph. 68.

[k] "Cyrenaica, eadem Pentapolitana regio illuſtratur Hammonis oraculo, quod a Cyrenis abeſt C. C. C. C. M. paſſuum." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--541.

[l] "Cyrenaica provincia eſt; in eâque ſunt Hammonis oraculum, fidei inclytæ: et fons, quem Solis appellant." P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 8.--46. 8vo L. B. 1748.

believe Herodotus,[m] by a wandering and unſettled nation; Ægypt on the Eaſt; on the South the Nobates and Garamantians, though Herodotus places them twenty days' journey to the Weſt of the Ammonians; and the Inner Lybia on the Weſt. The Troglodites, who were ſituated on the Weſtern coaſt of the Arabian gulph, to the South of Ægypt,[n] cannot be included in the liſt of the neighbouring nations of the Oracle, nor the Æthiopian Scenites and Nomades, reſiding near the iſland of Meroe,[o] whoſe poſition to the South of Thebes is well known.——According to the ancient geographers, the Naſamons reſided near the Great Syrtes, and the borders of Cyrene and Carthage, diſtinguiſhed by the Aræ Philenorum.[p] Herodotus throws back the Southern frontiers of Lybia, as far as Augila,[q] ten days' journey from Ammon, whoſe Latitude will not then differ more than one degree and ten minutes, from that of the country of the Naſamons. Q. Curtius ſcarcely merits a reproach, for ſuch a trifling miſtake, but Diodorus Siculus is unpardonable, for having placed this Lybian nation to the South of the Oracle.

Of

[m] Herodotus. Lib. 4.--360.

[n] Strabo. Lib. 1.--71.

[o] Herodotus. Lib. 2.--116.

[p] Strabo. Lib. 2.--193.—Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--543.—Scylacis Peripl. 111. 4to L. B. 1700.—Euſtath. Comm. ad Dionys. Perieg. V. 209.--31. 4to 1577.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 7.--40.

[q] Herodotus. Lib. 4.--361.

OF THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE EUPHRATES.

We learn from Arrian, that the Macedonian army on leaving the banks of the Tigris, in their march to Gaugamele, had the Sogdian mountains on the left.[r] The error muſt have ariſen from the negligence of the copyiſt, who probably, inſerted Sogdian inſtead of Gordian or Corduan, as both Palmer[s] and Holſtenius[t] have obſerved. The neceſſity of this correction is indeed evident, from the march of Alexander's army. The Gordian or Corduan mountains, were ſituated to the North of Arbela, and conſequently the Macedonian troops muſt have them on the left. Strabo,[w] Q. Curtius,[x] and Plutarch,[y] unite their teſtimony in ſupport of this emendation; but inſtead of endeavouring to diſcover in the text of Arrian, a ſolution of the difficulty, in which he is involved, Monſieur

[r] "Εν αριστερα μεν εχων τα Σογδιανων ορη." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7.--195.

[s] Exercitat. in Auctores Græcos. 238.

[t] Ad. Not. in Steph. Byzant.

[w] Strabo. Lib. 11.--802.

[x] "Secundâ vigiliâ caſtra movit: dextrâ Tigrim habebat; a lævâ montes, quos Gordæos vocant." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 10. Tom. 1.--242.

[y] "Πεδιον το μεταξυ τε Νιφατε καὶ των ορων των Γορδυαιων." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--683.

Monſieur Freret[z] is diſpoſed to ſuppoſe he gave the name of Sogdian, a term ſignifying, in his opinion, a valley, to all the country round about Arbela. This learned writer hath notwithſtanding, inconſiſtently advanced in his memoir on the chronology of *Aſſyria*, "that[a] the name of Sogdian was uſually applied to any mountainous country."—Abulfeda, however, leaves little doubt upon the ſubject. Soghd, according to this Arabian author, is the name of an extenſive province of Trans-Oxiana, of which Samarcand was the capital.—Alfragan[b] reckons Sogdiana as a province of the Khoraſan, and the other Oriental writers, from whom Monſieur Freret appears to have taken up his conjectures, are not favourable to him. Herbelot alſo contradicts him.

Alexander croſſing Meſopotamia, in the direction of North to South, from Gaugamele to Memnium or Memin, left a great part of the country on the right. Q. Curtius aſſures us, that the Macedonian army had on the left Arabia Felix,[c] which is to the South-Eaſt of the Deſert, near the Euphrates and Babylon,[d] and, thus miſtaking "Arabia Deſerta" for "Arabia Felix," he places on the left, what was upon the right. But indeed the account of this

[z] Obſervat. ſur la Cyrop. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 4.--611, 612.

[a] Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcript. Tom. 5.--190.

[b] Elément. Aſtronom. C. 9.

[c] "Euntibus a parte lævâ, Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--302.

[d] Strabo. Lib. 16.--1112.

this hiſtorian, might induce us to believe, that Alexander had Arabia on the right during the whole of his march, which was the caſe only during a ſhort part of it.

An alteration of a ſingle word, in a geographical deſcription, may ſometimes occaſion conſiderable errors, and Juſtin furniſhes us with an inſtance of it. The Lycus, a river which flows through the plains of Arbela, is termed the Cydnus, a river of Cilicia, which waſhes the walls of Tarſus.[e] We may reaſonably ſuppoſe this was owing to negligence in the copyiſt, but it has notwithſtanding bewildered P. Oroſius, who follows the exact footſteps of the abbreviator of T. Pompeius, and, with the greateſt abſurdity, ſtates Alexander's laſt deciſive engagement with Darius to have been fought near Tarſus.[f]

The Tigris and the Euphrates are ſaid by Q. Curtius to croſs both Media and Gordiana:[g] on the contrary, theſe rivers direct their courſe to the Weſt of Media, and to the South and Weſt of Gordiana. Diodorus Siculus may poſſibly have been the author of

[e] Juſtin. Lib. 11. C. 14.--293. Voſſius, however, in oppoſition to Q. Curtius (Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--293.) and Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--214.) maintains the preſent reading of Juſtin, and ſuppoſes the Cydnus and Lycus to have equally diſgorged themſelves into the Tigris.

[f] "Apud Tarſum bellum opponit." (Oroſius. Lib. 3. C. 17.--184.) The error is indefenſible.

[g] Q. Curtius, Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--305.

of the error, for he makes the Tigris and the Euphrates, to water Media and Parætacene,[h] a Northern province of Perſia.[i]

In the letter, which Q. Curtius ſuppoſes Darius to have addreſſed to Alexander, he informs the Macedonian Monarch, that "he[k] would find himſelf obliged to paſs the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Hydaſpes, which were like ſo many bulwarks to his dominions."[l] Theſe expreſſions would naturally lead us to imagine, that the Perſian empire lay beyond the Hydaſpes. The Araxes appears alſo to be tranſported to the Eaſt of the Tigris. Perhaps however a river of that name, which paſſed by Perſepolis, might be alluded to; though from the circumſtance of the Araxes being mentioned amongſt the other great rivers of Aſia, it might be ſuſpected to be the river, which diſcharges itſelf into the Caſpian ſea.—Alexander in his anſwer to Darius, informs him, that his intention was to make himſelf maſter of Perſepolis, the capital of the Perſian monarch, and afterwards of Bactra, and Ecbatana. Q. Curtius mentions Ecbatana the laſt,[m] as if it had been beyond Bactra.

[h] "Ενεχθεντες δε δια Μηδιας τε Παραιταχηνης, εμβαλλουσιν εις την Μεσοποταμιαν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--125.

[i] Herodotus. Lib. 1.--52.

[k] "Tranſeundum eſſe Alexandro Euphraten, Tigrinque et Araxen, et Hydaſpen, magna munimenta regni ſui." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--191.

[l] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 1.--212.

[m] "Perſepolim caput regni ejus, Bactra deinde et Ecbatana." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--192.

The Macedonian army, in its march from Susa to penetrate into the interior provinces of the East, was obliged according to Diodorus Siculus [n] to pass the Tigris. This error is probably but the consequence of the former mistake, which he had made, respecting the course of this river, and which hath been already noticed. The judicious Palmer [o] hath not perceived it, because he wished to substitute the Pasitigris for the Tigris, which often occurs in the text of Diodorus Siculus. The repetition itself proves that the common reading is correct, and to vary the passages of the ancient writers upon frivolous pretensions, would be to expose them incessantly to the caprice of critics and grammarians. The opinion that the Tigris, from its receiving the waters of Susia, and the different channels of the Euphrates, took afterwards the name of Pasitigris, [p] seems to be confirmed by the navigation of Nearchus, [q] and some expressions of Pliny. [r] Alexander's historians have, notwithstanding, confounded the Pasitigris with the Orates or Oroatis, [s] which separates Persia from Susia, and

[n] Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 17.--211.

[o] Palmer. Exercit. apud Auctores Græcos. 138, 139.

[p] Recherches Geograph. sur le Golfe Persique par d'Anville.—Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. 30.--173, &c.—See also Strabo. Lib. 15.--1060.

[q] Arrian. Hist. Ind. C. 42.--633.

[r] "Ubi remeavere aquæ, Pasitigris vocatur." Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 27. Tom. 1--716.

[s] Yet Strabo tells us, "Πασιτιγριν απο τε Οροατιδος διεχειν περι δισχιλιες ςαδιες." Lib. 15. --1060.

and which in all probability Diodorus Siculus hath taken for the Tigris.

After the death of Darius, Alexander purſued the Perſian monarch's aſſaſſins, and the remains of the Perſian army, and preſſed forward into that part of Aſia near the Caſpian ſea, and beyond the Iaxartes, which was an important diſcovery to the Greeks, who had only been till then acquainted with the countries to the Weſt of the Tigris and Euphrates. The Athenian orators were ſtruck with the rapid conqueſts of the Macedonian troops, and the tribune reſounded with harangues on the aſtoniſhing relations of their exploits. Æſchines cried out[t] in the midſt of one of the popular aſſemblies, "that[w] Alexander was at a diſtance farther than the Pole, almoſt beyond the limits of the habitable world."[x] Such was the impreſſion that the diſcoveries of the Macedonian Monarch made upon his cotemporaries. The orator may indulge himſelf in a paroxyſm of enthuſiaſm, but the philoſopher will ſcrutinize more calmly the hiſtory of events, and ſanction only thoſe, which have the ſupport of reaſon, and are authorized by truth.

Of

[t] "Eſchine s'ecria." I give the French expreſſion to juſtify the correſponding paſſage. One part of the Athenian Senate, either in the pay or intereſt of Alexander, or from views of oppoſition, might find their purpoſe in magnifying the victories of the Macedonian Monarch, but the Greek orator, in the ſentence alluded to, reaſons merely from the diſtance, which then ſeparated them.

[w] "Ὁ δε Αλεξανδρος εξω της Αρκτου ἡ της οικουμενης ολιγῳ δειν πασης μεθειστηκει." Æſchines contra Cteſiph. Demoſt. Opera. 454. Folio. Franc. 1604.

[x] Leland's Orations of Æſchines and Demoſthenes. Vol. 3.--100. 8vo

OF THE CASPIAN SEA.

The ancient Perſians had ſome correct notions of the Caſpian ſea, though they were not ſufficiently acquainted with the whole of its ſhape and figure, as we may gather from Herodotus. This Greek hiſtorian moſt probably borrowed his ideas from the Perſians, who neither puſhed their knowledge very far, nor acquired that degree of certainty, which might have been expected from them, owing to the abhorrence of all maritime expeditions, which they derived from their religious inſtitutions.[y] They were perſuaded alſo, that the coaſts of theſe ſeas were frequented by evil Genii, of whom they had fears and apprehenſions.[z]——The Greeks, who ſucceeded them in the empire of the Eaſt, ſailed generally to the Southward, and the Eaſterly and Weſterly winds,[a] which blew almoſt inceſſantly in thoſe roads, with the want of *proper* and convenient ports,[b] prevented them extending their voyages on ſuch

[y] We are told by Pliny, ſpeaking of Tiridates, "Navigare noluerat, quoniam exſpuere in maria, aliiſque mortalium neceſſitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant." Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 30. C. 2. Tom. 4.--730.

[z] Memoires de Monſieur Anquetil. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 31.--373.

[a] Q. Curtius informs us, that there is alſo a great and heavy ſea, which ſets in from the North. "A Septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit." Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.

[b] "Onne atrox, ſævum, ſine portubus, procellis undique expoſitum; ac belluis magis quam cetera

ſuch ſtormy coaſts. They relied on the neighbouring nations for information, and what they picked up from them was the ſource of numerous and multiplied errors. It is to the Ruſſians that we are indebted for the preſent geographical ſyſtem, and they have at laſt diſſipated that miſt of ignorance, in which this part of the world was enveloped. By repeated obſervations, the greateſt length of the Caſpian ſea hath been demonſtrated to be from North to South,[c] and that it has neither any communication with the Ocean, nor adjoining ſeas.

The ancient geographers were divided in opinion reſpecting the figure of the Caſpian ſea. By ſome, it was ſuppoſed to be of an oblong ſhape:[d] others concluded that it was round. It is aſtoniſhing, however, that the ſentiments of Herodotus were not univerſally admitted. We underſtand from him, that an oared veſſel might ſail in fifteen days from end to end, and might croſs it in eight.[e] If we reckon, according to the calculation of many of the ancient authors, and even of Herodotus, the track of this veſſel at five

cetera refertum, et ideo minus navigabile." (P. Mela. Lib. 3. C. 5.--267.) The "Belluæ" might be the evil Genii of the Perſians.

[c] Memoire de Monſieur de l'Iſle. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences. 1741.--245.

[d] Μηνοειδης ουσα, κατα δε τινας ϗ προμηκης." Agathemerus. Lib. 1. C. 3.--184. Ed. Gronov. 4to L. B. 1700.

[e] "Ἡ δε Κασπιη, εςι ἑτερη επ' ἑωυτης, εουσα μηκος μεν πλοου, ειρεσιη χρεωμενω, πεντε ϗ δεκα ἡμερεων· ευρος δε, τη ευρυτατη εςι αυτη ἑωυτης, οκτω ἡμερεων." Herod. Lib. 1.--96.

five hundred ſtadia,[f] which ought in fact to be eight hundred or a thouſand, the length of the Caſpian ſea, will be found within nearly five hundred ſtadia of that given to it in the modern diſcoveries, though the eight days' paſſage cannot be reconciled with any correct chart. The calculation of Agathemerus is more moderate, and he reduces it to two thouſand five hundred ſtadia,[g] the extent which it really has on the Southern ſide; but the meaſure of eight thouſand two hundred ſtadia, which he allows to the coaſts of the Caſpian ſea, from the mouth of the Cyrus to that of the Iaxartes, is not equally juſt and accurate.

Eratoſthenes had collected with care the obſervations of different perſons, on the diſtance and extent of the coaſt of the ſea, which bordered Albania and the country of the Caduſians, for the ſpace of five thouſand four hundred ſtadia; the country of the Mardi, as far as the mouths of the Oxus, for four thouſand eight hundred; and from thence to the Iaxartes, which again took in two thouſand four hundred ſtadia,[h] amounting in the whole

[f] "Απο δε Ηλιεπολιος ες Θηβας εξι αναπλος εννεα ημερεων· γαδιοι δε της ὁδε εξηκοντα και οκτακοσιοι και τετρακισχιλιοι." (Heredot. Lib. 2.--107.) Theſe four thouſand eight hundred and ſixty ſtadia allow five hundred and ninety for each day's ſail, and the calculation appears to be adopted in general by the ancient authors. The turbulence of the Caſpian ſea might however reduce the reckoning.

[g] "Πλατος δε πλειστον β. φ. μιλιων δε τ. λ. δ." Agathemerus. Lib. 2. C. 14.--243.

[h] "Φησι δ'Ερατοσθενης τον ὑπο των Ελληνων γνωριμον περιπλεντης θαλατης ταυτης, τον μεν παρα τες Αλβανες, και τες Καδυσιες, ειναι πεντακισχιλιων και τετρακοσιων· τον δε παρα τον Αναριακων, και Μαρδων, και Υρκανων, μεχρι τα στοματος τα Οξε ποταμε, τετρακισχιλιων και οκτακοσιων· ενδεη δ'επι τα Ιαξαρτε δισχιλιων τετρακοσιων." Strabo. Lib. 11.--773.

whole to twelve thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia. Artemidorus computed the diſtance at fifteen hundred and ſeventy-five, [i] which is not widely different from the preſent ideas, though they are not ſtill as accurate as might be wiſhed. Strabo aſſures us, that the Caſpian ſea was little known beyond the Iaxartes, and that too much caution cannot be taken, in giving credit to any accounts of the Northern part of it, [k] with which the Ancients had but a very dubious acquaintance. The name indeed of the Caſpian ſea, according to Pliny, did not extend beyond the Cyrus. [l]

It appears from the different computations, which have been already alluded to, that many authors of antiquity were aware, though their notions were far from being perfect, that the greateſt extent of the Caſpian ſea was from North to South. Ptolemy, however, hath totally diſregarded the opinion, and allows twenty-three degrees and a half from Weſt to Eaſt, which is four times its extent. [m]

[i] "Eratoſthenes ponit et menſuram: ab exortu et meridie, per Caduſiæ et Albaniæ oram quinquies mille C. C. C. C. ſtad. Inde per Anariacas, Amardos, Hyrcanos, ad oſtium Oxi fluminis, quatuor mille D. C. C. C. ſtad. Ab eo ad oſtium Iaxartis M. M. C. C. C. C. ſtad. Quæ ſumma efficit quindecies centena ſeptuaginta quinque M. paſſuum." (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--668, 669.) The calculation therefore was that of Eratoſthenes, and Pliny is only reſponſible for the reduction of the ſtadia to the Roman meaſure.

[k] "Δει δε περι των εν τη μεσοδι ταυτη, και τοις επι τοσουτον εκτετοπισμενοις απλουστερον ακουειν, και μαλιστα περι των διαστηματων." Strabo. Lib. 11.--774.

[l] "A Cyro Caſpium mare vocari incipit: accolunt Caſpii." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--670.

[m] See the obſervations on the Caſpian ſea. Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Sciences. 1721.--247.

The reſult of this extenſive and undue extent in Longitude has been, that all the countries of Aſia, within the twentieth and fortieth degrees of North Latitude, have been ſtretched to one hundred and ninety degrees of Longitude, and by this means, China is placed ſix hundred leagues more Eaſterly than it ought to be,[n] and the poſition of the different nations hath been thrown farther to the Eaſt. The Weſtern regions have been equally miſplaced, and a part of Albania, the Caſpians, the Caducians, and the Geles, inſtead of occupying the Weſtern ſhore of the Caſpian ſea, have been tranſported to the South.[o] Monſieur de Buffon, attributes the origin of this error to a ſuppoſition, that the lake Aral was conſidered as a part of the Caſpian ſea. "We ſhall find," this great Naturaliſt informs us, "that the Weſtern coaſt of the Caſpian ſea, to the Eaſtern ſhore of the lake Aral, extends to a greater length than the diſtance from the Southern coaſt to the Northern coaſt of the ſame ſea."[p] The beſt modern charts do not agree with this ſyſtem, and on meaſuring the ſpace of which Monſieur de Buffon ſpeaks, it will be found, on the contrary, that the Caſpian ſea will have a third more of Latitude than Longitude. Beſides the ancient geographers have not in the leaſt confounded the lake Aral with this ſea, and the Orientals, who have given us ſome

[n] Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions. Tom. 25.--45.

[o] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 2.

[p] "On trouvera encore que la longueur, depuis le bord Occidental de la mer Caſpienne, juſqu'au bord Oriental du lac Aral eſt plus grande que la longueur depuis le bord meridional juſqu'au bord ſeptentrional de la meme mer." Hiſt. Nat. Tom. 2.--41. Ed. 12mo

ſome very particular information relative to this lake, have been equally deceived as to the extent of the Longitude of the Caſpian ſea.

Abulfeda, an Arabian prince, and an author in the early part of the fourteenth century, relates the opinion of Kotiddin, who fixed the Longitude of the Caſpian ſea, at two hundred and ſeventy paraſengs. [q] Ali-Kohcſgi, a celebrated Oriental aſtronomer of the fifteenth century, included twenty-two paraſengs in a degree, with a fraction of two thirds of a mile, three miles forming a paraſeng. [r] According to this calculation, Kotiddin will only have allowed eleven degrees a third and two miles of Longitude to the Caſpian ſea, which reduces it more than one half of Ptolemy's computation.

It is probable that the extent of the Caſpian ſea was not always the ſame, on the Eaſtern, Weſtern, and Southern ſhores, and that it hath been ſubject to many changes. Perhaps even the Caſpian ſea might have once covered the ſandy ſurface which now ſeparates it from the lake Aral, and indeed its waters muſt have been much more conſiderable, as many great rivers, which formerly opened into it, have had their courſes turned and flow into it no longer. Mr. Hanway's journal proves, that many alterations have

[q] "Tradit Kotiddinus ejus Longitudinem ab Oriente ad Occidentem 270 Paraſengas." Abulfeda ex Verſione Aſk.

[r] D'Anville Meſures Itin. 96.

happened in the neighbouring countries, and this ſagacious traveller remarks, that on entering the bay of Aſtrabad, on the South ſide[s] of the Caſpian ſea, it had gained ſo much on the coaſt and eaten it away, that in many parts of it, trunks of trees blocked up the ſhore and made it difficult to land. When the Ruſſians firſt navigated the ſea, they pretend that they found only five feet of water, during nine leagues to the South and South-Eaſt of Chiterie Bogorie; but for the laſt thirty years, the water hath deepened ſo much, that Mr. Hanway could not meet with any ſoundings at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, with a line of four hundred and fifty fathoms.[t]

Perhaps theſe alterations may have been the reaſon of the uncertainty of the figure of the Caſpian ſea, with which the Orientals were as little acquainted as the Ancients. The former have ſometimes ſuppoſed that it was round or oval, at other times that it was triangular, and like the ſail uſually carried by one of their oared veſſels. The obſervations made in the reign of Czar Peter the firſt, at laſt determined its figure,[w] though not exactly with geometrical

[s] Hanway's Hiſtorical Account of the Britiſh Trade over the Caſpian ſea. Vol. 1. C. 25.--164. C. 26.--166.

[t] Hanway's Hiſtorical Account of the Britiſh Trade over the Caſpian ſea. Vol. 1. C. 24.--155.

[w] For the Honour of GREAT BRITAIN, the Moderns are indebted, as Dr. Robertſon obſerves, (Hiſtorical Diſquiſition on India, 205.) to Anthony Jenkinſon for the firſt correct idea of the Caſpian ſea. The following is what Hakluyt terms "a notable deſcription" of it. "The Caſpian ſea (to ſay ſomething of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth one hundred

geometrical preciſion, for the chart of Monſieur d' Anville, publiſhed in 1754, differs in many particulars from the Czar's laid down by de l'Iſle. The gulph of Jemba, which forms a bay, whoſe ſhores are the moſt Northern parts of this ſea, hath changed its ſhape in the chart of Monſieur d' Anville, and advances a degree and a half to the South.

The point with the name of Mertovit Kultuk, is there extended in Longitude more than any part of it in Monſieur de l'Iſle's chart. The figure of the bay of Balkan hath experienced a ſimilar variation, and in ſhort Monſieur d' Anville's obſervations, have induced him to alter many of his predeceſſor's poſitions and bearings on the borders of this ſea.——Herodotus aſſures us, that the Caſpian ſea had no communication with the neighbouring ones,* and Ariſtotle deſcribes it as a lake, ſituated at the foot of mount

hundred and fifty, without any iſſue to other ſeas: to the Eaſt whereof, joyneth the great deſert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen; to the Weſt, the countreys of the Chyrcaſſes, the mountaines of Caucaſus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the ſaid Caſpian ſea a hundred leagues. To the North, is the river Wolga, and the Land of Nagay, and to the South part joyne the countreys of Media and Perſia. This ſea is freſh water in many places, and in other places as ſalt as our great ocean. It hath many goodly rivers falling into it, and it avoideth not it ſelfe except it be under ground. The notable rivers that fall into it, are firſt the great river of Wolga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which ſpringeth out of a lake in a Marriſh or plaine ground, not farre from the citie of Novogrode in Ruſſia, and it is from the ſpring to the ſea, above two thouſand Engliſh miles. It hath divers other goodly rivers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic and Yem: alſo out of the mountaines of Caucaſus, the rivers of Cyrus and Araſk, and divers others."

Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages. Vol. 1,—334.

* "Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, καὶ συμμισγουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ." Herodot. Lib. 1. —96.

mount Caucaſus, and adds that they called this lake, which was circumſcribed by the habitations of different people, a ſea. [y]

Alexander's conqueſts, inſtead of confirming the want of a communication in the Caſpian ſea with the neighbouring ones, gave birth to a multitude of errors or lent them freſh credit and ſupport. Diodorus Siculus [z] is the only one of the Conqueror's hiſtorians, that embraced the opinion of Herodotus; and though Plutarch confeſſes that the Macedonian Monarch could learn nothing certain of this ſea, he ſtill hath no ſcruples of advancing that it was a gulph of the Northern ocean. [a] This erroneous concluſion was adopted by moſt of the Greek and Latin writers, [b] whoſe names it is unneceſſary to mention; and even the judicious Strabo [c] is not to be excepted, who criticiſes unjuſtly Polycletus, on his having termed the Caſpian ſea a lake. Monſieur de l'Iſle believes, that the Ancients were deceived by the great reſemblance between the

y "Αλλ'ἡ γε ὑπο τον Καυκασον λιμνη, ἡν καλουσιν ὁι εκει θαλασσαν." Ariſt. Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Tom. 1.--770. Folio. 1654.

z Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18.--260, 261.

a "Αυτος δε μετα της ακμαιοτατης δυναμεως εις Ὑρκανιαν κατεβαινε· καὶ πελαγους ιδων κολπον, ουκ ελαττονα μεν του ποντου φανεντα, γλυκυτερον δε της αλλης θαλαττης, σαφες μεν ουδεν εσχεν πυθεσθαι περι αυτου, μαλιστα δε εικασε της Μαιωτιδος λιμνης ανακοπην ειναι· καὶ τοι τους γε φυσικους ανδρας ουκ ελαθε ταληθες, αλλα πολλοις ετεσιν εμπροσθεν της Αλεξανδρου στρατειας ἱστορηκασιν ὁτι τεσσαρων κολπων εισεκοντων απο της εξω θαλασσης, βορειοτατος ὁυτος εστιν, το Ὑρκανιον πελαγος καὶ Κασπιον ὁμου προσαγορευομενον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

b Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. C. 15. Tom. 1.--668, 669, &c. &c.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 2. —Dionys. Perieg. V. 722. Euſtath. Comment. 96. Ed. Steph. 4to 1577.—J. Solinus. C. 21.

c Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

the ſtrait, by which they ſuppoſed this ſea opened into the Northern ocean, and the mouth of the Volga. This river runs from the North in a Southerly direction, and widens at its entrance into the Caſpian ſea, which receives many rivers without ever overflowing. The phænomenon may be perhaps explained on the principles of evaporation, by which a quantity of water paſſes off, equal to that, which the ſea receives. [d]

A conjecture, not leſs probable, ariſes from the route of the Scythians, when they formerly engaged in commerce on the Northern ocean. They mounted the Volga and the Kama, and to reach the Petzora, which throws itſelf into this ſea, they carried their merchandiſe about half a league over land, though it was not mentioned, being only a trifle in compariſon of their tedious paſſage by water. [e] We have another example of this mode of executing a long voyage principally on rivers, in the chart of Japan, which Kœmpfer brought along with him into Europe, and depoſited in Sir Hans Sloane's muſeum. It hath been ſince publiſhed by Monſieur de Guignes. [f] The Saghalion, is there repreſented as united by the lake Paikal or Baikalmore to the Lena, notwithſtanding there are two carrying-places in this route. The North

[d] See the very ingenious theory of Dr. Halley. Philoſoph. Tranſact. 1687.--186. 202. Perry (State of Ruſſia) hath even calculated the quantity of water, which the Caſpian ſea received from the Volga every minute.

[e] Conſiderat. Geograph. par Mons. Buache. 147.

[f] Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 28.--503.

North American Indians, entertain nearly the ſame ideas with the Japaneſe, on the junction of their reſpective lakes and rivers, as may be gathered from a compariſon of the chart, traced by Ochagach the Indian, before the French officers ſent to make diſcoveries, and the obſervations, which they had perſonally made.[g] Champlain, to whom the French eſtabliſhment in Canada owed its origin, related that the Indians informed him by mounting the Saguena, in forty or fifty days he might arrive at the Northern ocean. We know decidedly that this river receives that of the Cheſoumatau, by which there is a paſſage, with one carrying-place to the lakes of the Miſtaſſins, and from theſe lakes they deſcend by the Kiche-Kupitan, or the great opening into Hudſon's bay.

Objects frequently preſent themſelves under the ſame aſpect to thoſe people, whoſe knowledge is very limited, and to thoſe, who are not civilized. The Scythians were the Savages of the ancient Continent, and it is from their accounts, that Scymnus of Chio, in all likelihood, hath related that the Tanais derives its ſource from the Araxes,[h] which is the Rha or Volga. But the Araxes was a term applied by the Ancients to many rivers, notwithſtanding Herodotus principally deſigns by it the Volga, which approaches very near the Twia, at the diſtance of eight leagues from the Tanais,

[g] Conſiderat. Geograph. de Mons. Buache. Chart 8.

[h] "Εις ἣν ὁ Ταναις απο τε ποταμε λαβων
Το ρευμ' Αραξεως επιμισγεται."
Scymni Fragm. 128, 129. Geog. Vet. Script. Min. Græc. Tom. 2.--50.

Tanais,[i] of which it was ſuppoſed by Ariſtotle to be a branch.[k] The Scythians, who navigated the two rivers, circulated a report that they joined each other, juſt as the Caſpian ſea was imagined to have had a communication with the Ocean. A paſſage of Artemidorus, publiſhed a few years[l] ſince, confirms this explanation, and we learn from it, that the Tanais had two openings, by one of which it fell into the Palus Mæotis, and by the other flowed into Scythia. The Rha or Wolga is to be underſtood by the latter, that croſſes Aſiatic Scythia before it throws itſelf into the Caſpian ſea, which Artemidorus after Ariſtotle's opinion, adopted alſo by Ptolemy, conſiders as a branch of the Tanais.

This is not, however, the only example in geography of ſuch communications,[m] which may be traced to the Scythians. The whole ſpace of country between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas being inhabited by theſe people, the Phaſis, Araxes, and many other rivers, which on a junction with them loſt their own names, ſerved to connect them with the different tribes of their extended na-

 tion,

[i] The Baron de St. Croix obſerves alſo that even this diſtance is reduced by two other rivers, one of which runs into the Don, and the other into the Wolga. See likewiſe Perry's State of Ruſſia.

[k] "Και ὁ Αραξης· τουτου δ' ὁ Ταναις αποσχιζεται μεγα ων." Ariſtot. Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Tom. 1.--768.

[l] Vangoens Notes on Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum. 87.

[m] There is a very curious and intelligent memoir of Monſieur Buache, on the ſuppoſed communications of different rivers and ſeas, which have in our times diſappeared. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences.

tion, and with a very ſhort paſſage over land, which they do not mention, they generally moved by water. Their relations might then have very naturally eſtabliſhed the ſuppoſed junction of the Phaſis and Araxes with the Lycus, of which Apollonius Rhodius[n] hath ſpoken. That of the Iſter with the Ionian ſea or Adriatic gulph and the Pontus Euxinus, which we are told of by the ſame author, have no other origin. The Greek poet adopted the opinion of Timagetes,[o] who aſſures us that the Argonauts on mounting the Iſter reached the ſea, which bathes the ſides of Italy[p] and part of Greece. We know the Danube, at ſome diſtance from its riſe,

n "———————Παρα προχοησι Λυκοιο,
Ὁ τ'αποκιδναμενῳ ποταμῳ κελαδοντι Αραξεω
Φασιδι συμφερεται ἱερον ρεον· οἱ δε συν αμφω
Καυκασιην ἁλαδ'εις ἑν ελαυνομενοι προχεουσιν."
Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4. V. 132——134.
See alſo the Scholia. Ed. Hoelzlin. 398. 8vo L. B. 1641.

o "Ce poete a ſuivi l'opinion de Timoſthenes." "Τιμαγητ ῳ δε εν α περι λιμενων, τον Ιστρον φησι καταφερεσθαι εκ των Κελτικων ορων· ειτα εκδιδονεναι εις Κελτικην λιμνην· μετα δε ταυτα εις δυο σχιζεσθαι το ὑδωρ, καὶ το μεν εις τον Ευξεινον ποντον εισβαλλειν, το δε εις την Κελτικην θαλασσαν· δια δε τουτο τω σοματ ῳ πλευσαι τους Αργοναυτας, καὶ ελθειν εις Τυρρηνιαν· κατακολουθει δε αυτω καὶ Απολλωνι ῳ." (Scholia. ad Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4. V. 258. Ed. Hoelzlin. 409.) The Baron de St. Croix for Timagetes hath boldly ſubſtituted Timoſthenes, who had, he ſays, the command of the fleet of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was the author of ſome geographical details in ten books. The name, however, of Timagetes again occurs in the commentary on the 284th Verſe of the 4th Book of Apollonius Rhodius, and I have reſtored it. From the repetition of the words, it cannot be ſuppoſed to be an error.

p "Ενθα διχη το μεν ενθα μετ'Ιονιην ἁλα βαλλει
Τηδ' ὑδωρ, το δ'οπισθε βαθυν δια κολπον ἱησι
Σχιζομενῳ ποντῳ Τριναχριη εισανεχοντα."
Apoll. Rhod. Lib. 4.—289——291.

riſe, approaches the Adriatic gulph, with which a communication might eaſily be opened, if a junction of it was formed with the river, which runs into the Adriatic gulph near Aquilea, and which is only ſeparated from the Danube by a narrow tract of country.

It is then very probable that Patroclus, who commanded the fleets of Seleucus and Antiochus, might more eaſily have taken the mouths of the Volga for a ſtrait,[q] as the miſtake was ſupported by the opinions of the natives, and they went by water to the Northern ocean. This navigator would naturally loſe no time in publiſhing his pretended diſcovery, or rather the confirmation of the report of the Macedonians, who followed Alexander; and from this circumſtance we may date the errors of the cotemporary and later writers. P. Mela hath repreſented this ſtrait, which ſerved as a communication with the Caſpian ſea and that of the Northern ocean, as long, very narrow, like a river, and continuing its courſe in a direct line, as it approached its opening[r] into the ſea. Under this deſcription the Volga cannot be miſtaken.

Ptolemy, with the advantage of various relations, comes over to the ſentiments of Herodotus, Ariſtotle, Diodorus Siculus and Polycletus, and he tells us in his geography, that the Caſpian ſea

q Strabo. Lib. 2.

r "Mare Caſpium, ut anguſto, ita longo etiam freto, primum terras, quaſi fluvius, irrumpit." P. Mela. Lib. 3. C. 5.--266.

is ſurrounded on all ſides by land, and that it reſembles, when compared to the Continent, an iſland in the midſt of the waves.[s]

In the number of events and revolutions, which Providence hath brought about in different ages of the world, though they may have been fatal to the inhabitants of the countries that were immediately expoſed to them, the circle of human knowledge was certainly extended. By one of theſe political convulſions, the opinions reſpecting the Caſpian ſea were reduced to a certainty, and its ſuppoſed communication with the Ocean proved to have been imaginary. Under the Arabian Caliphs the Northern regions were explored, and their conqueſts and incurſions are clearly aſcertained by the medals of theſe Sovereign princes, that are often found in the ancient tombs which are ſo numerous on the borders of Petzora.[t] It was then generally known, that the Caſpian ſea had no communication whatever with the Northern ocean, and Abulfeda indeed with the other Oriental geographers were never ignorant of it."[w]—Arrian,[x] however, and Q. Curtius[y] have notwithſtanding

[s] Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 5.

[t] Strahlenberg's Hiſt. Geographical Deſcription of the North and Eaſtern part of Europe and Aſia. Sect. 6.--117.

[w] "Nec conjungitur cum mari ambiente, nec cum alio ex maribus de quibus ſermo præceſſit." Abulfeda ex Verſione Aſk. Eldriſi. Geog. Nub. 243.

[x] Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 26.--396.

[y] "Quidam credidere, non Caſpium mare eſſe; ſed ex Indiâ in Hyrcaniam cadere." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--411, 412.

notwithſtanding declared that the Caſpian ſea had a communication with the Indian ocean, by which the tract of land between the two ſeas muſt be conſiderably narrowed. This erroneous idea of the two hiſtorians perhaps induced Artemidorus to believe, that the Caſpian ſea was at no great diſtance from the Ocean,[z] and that the Caſpians, who dwelt upon its ſhores, were the borderers of Perſia; from which, that part of Aſia ſituated between the Caſpian ſea and Indian ocean, the later including the whole expanſe of water that waſhes the Southern ſide of Aſia, was diminiſhed five degrees in Latitude, and all the nations, that occupied this ſpace of country, are made to diſappear.

We learn from Polycletus,[a] that the water of the Caſpian ſea was freſh, and Plutarch[b] and Q. Curtius[c] have adopted the opinion, which is not altogether deſtitute of truth. Abulfeda relates, after a traveller, whoſe name he does not mention, that the water of this ſea changes its colour on the Northern ſhore, and that it is freſhened ſo much by the river Atal or Atalcus, which is the modern Volga, as to be ſerviceable even at the diſtance of a day's ſail,

z "Περι της Κασπιης θαλασσης ἱςορει Αρτεμιδωρος εν τη επιτομη των γεωγραφουμενων· εςι δε πλησιον του Οκεανου." Schol. ad Appol. Rhod. Lib. 3. V. 858. Ed. Hoelzlin. L. B. 8vo 1641.

a "Πολυκλειτος δε καὶ πιςεις προσφερεται περι του λιμνην ειναι την θαλατταν ταυτην——————καὶ ὑπογλυκυ ειναι το ὑδωρ." Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

b "Γλυκυτερον δε της αλλης θαλαττης." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

c "Mæotim paludem in id cadere putant: et argumentum adferunt: aquam, quo dulcior ſit quam cetera maria, infuſo paludis humore miteſcere." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4.--410.

ſail, which may be calculated at nearly twelve leagues.[d] Father Avril on the contrary limits its effects, and aſſures us that the freſh water extends only two leagues from the ſhore.[e] The Ancients, who ſeldom ventured out of the ſight of land, concluded that the reſt of the Caſpian ſea was like that, which they had before their eyes, but Le Bruyn[f] and many other travellers[g] have not forgotten to mention the ſingularity. Perhaps we may be tempted to ſuppoſe, with Monſieur de Buffon,[h] that it became only ſalt ſlowly, and by degrees. The rivers, that loſe themſelves in this ſea, have continually brought along with them ſalts, which they detached from the earth in their paſſages, and theſe ſalts have not been diſſipated by evaporation. It is poſſible alſo, that the difference between Abulfeda and Father Avril, may be owing to the obſervations made on the different parts of the coaſts, on which they landed. The freſhneſs of the Caſpian ſea could not have been always the ſame at an equal diſtance from the coaſt, but muſt

[d] "Mercator, qui in hoc mari navigavit, ita dicens, cum ad finem illius maris ad ſeptentrionem pervenimus, illam aquam ſalſam ac limpidam colore mutatam comperi; tunc dictum fuit mihi illam aquam eſſe fluminis Atalci maris aquis mixtam, cumque ex illâ bibiſſem eam dulcem eſſe deprehendi, et ita prope diem per mare dulce navigavimus." Abulfeda ex Vers. Aſk.

[e] Voyages en divers Etats d'Europe et d'Aſie. 86.

[f] Voyages de Le Bruyn. Tom. 3.--459. Ed. 4to

[g] Voyages d'Olearius. 513.

[h] Hiſtoire Naturelle. Tom. 2.--176. Ed. 12mo The Baron de St. Croix obſerves that Pliny appears to ſtrengthen Monſieur de Buffon's ſyſtem. "Præterea apud Bactros amnes Ochus et Oxus, ex appoſitis montibus deferunt ſalis ramenta." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 31. C. 7. Tom. 4. --805. 4to 1685.

muſt have varied according to the quantity of water, which the neighbouring rivers poured into it, and the velocity with which it was diſcharged, as it would be conveyed to a diſtance proportionable with its rapidity. Strabo reproaches the companions of Alexander's arms with the invention of many falſities on the ſubject of the Caſpian ſea,[i] and with having confounded it with the Palus Mæotis: Plutarch[k] and Q. Curtius[l] inform their readers that this lake of European Scythia joined the Palus Mæotis, but this error may be attributed to the incorrect notions of the Ancients relative to the lake Aral, which they imagined to be the Palus Mæotis.—Herodotus relates that the country inhabited by the Choraſmians, the Hyrcanians and ſome other people, was watered by the river Aces or Akes. The preciſe place, where it diſgorged itſelf, was between two mountains:[m] being banked up and ſecured with locks by the orders of the king of Perſia, its courſe was thus ſtopped, and it formed a ſpacious lake, covering the plain between the two mountains.[n] The whole country became very

i "Προσεδοξασθη δε ϗ περι της θαλατης πολλα ψευδη δια την Αλεξανδρȣ φιλοτιμιαν——————εις ἑν ȣν συνηγον την τε Μαιωτιν λιμνην την δεχομενην τον Ταναιν, ϗ την Κασπιαν θαλατταν." Strabo. 11.--777.

k "Μαλιςα δε εικασε της Μαιωτιδος λιμνης ανακοπην ειναι." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

l "Mæotim paludem in id cadere putant." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.

m The Baron de St. Croix obſerves theſe Locks are termed by Sherefeddin "Coluga," or the "Iron Gate." Hiſt. de Timur. Lib. 3. C. 2. Lib. 6. C. 23.

n "Τας διασφαγας των ȣρεων ενδειμας ὁ βασιλευς, πυλας επ'εκαςη διασφαγι εςησε· αποκεκλημενȣ δε τȣ ὑδατος της εξοδȣ, το πεδιον το εντος των ȣρεων, πελαγος γινεται." Herod. Lib. 3.--256.

very clamorous on the occaſion, and the Perſian monarch, throwing down the mound, which he had ordered to be erected, the Akes or Aces returned into its old channel, and on the uſual tribute being paid, was again permitted to fertilize the country.[o] In this deſcription the Oxus is clearly aſcertained, and the paſs of Dehani-Chir, where the river is compreſſed into a narrow compaſs is exactly pointed out. We need not be aſtoniſhed that Herodotus, who took up his information from report, ſhould have confounded this paſs with the lake formed by the waters of the Oxus, which is in fact the Aral. The mountains or bold ſteep ſides, with which it is ſurrounded gave ſome reaſon for the miſtake, and the Greek hiſtorian had certainly ſome proper ideas of this lake, known afterwards under the name of the Oxian lake, though all of them were not correct. In the remoteſt antiquity indeed, the Oxus always in ſome meaſure ran into this lake, and augmented it with at leaſt ſome part of its waters.

The Turkiſh geographer informs us, that the Dgeihoun, which is the Oxus, on quitting the ſands, which will be hereafter taken notice of, divides itſelf into many ſtreams; thoſe of Kiahvare, Hezar-Aſb, Kierdan Kierb, and Hare, ſupply the whole country with

o "Επεαν ων μεδεν σφι παραδιδωται τȣ ὑδατος, ελθοντες ες τȣς Περσας αυτοι τε ϗ γυναικες, ςαντες κατα τας θυρας τȣ βασιλεος, βοωσι ωρυωμενοι· ὁ δε βασιλευς τοισι δεομενοισι αυτεων μαλιςα εντελλεται ανοιγειν τας πυλας τας ες τȣτο φερȣσας· επεαν δε διακορος ἡ γη σφεων γενηται πινȣσα το ὑδωρ, ἁυται μεν ἁι πυλαι αποκληιονται, αλλας δ'εντελλεται ανοιγειν αλλοισι τοισι δεομενοισι μαλιςα των λοιπων· ὡς δ'εγω οιδ'ακȣσας, χρηματα μεγαλα πρησσομενος ανοιγει, παρεξ τȣ φορȣ." Herod. Lib. 3.--256.

with water and are navigable.[p] Some of the branches of the Dgeihoun throw themſelves into the lake Khareſm or Aral, whilſt this river paſſes along the valley of Kierlave, roaring ſo as to be heard to the diſtance of two leagues, and afterwards diſcharges itſelf into the Caſpian ſea near Kahlkahl, ten days' journey from Chareſmus.

Theſe details ſerve to illuſtrate the text of Ptolemy, from whom we learn that many ſtreams riſe in the Sogdian mountains, ſituated between two rivers. Theſe two rivers can only be the Oxus and Iaxartes, that receive the tributary ſtreams, of which one forms the Oxian lake.[q] Ammianus Marcellinus, who hath often tranſlated Ptolemy, and ſometimes appears to have added to him, gives us ſome idea of the Oxian lake by the expreſſion of "far and widely extended,"[r] which can only agree with the lake of Aral. Pliny alſo mentions it by name, but he is miſtaken in the ſuppoſition of its being the ſource of the Oxus,[s] that Ptolemy fixes in the thirty-ninth degree of Northern Latitude,[t] the lake being in

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[p] Geograph. Turc. 821, 822. and 884, 885.

[q] Ων εἰς ποιει την Ωξιανην λιμνην." Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.

[r] "Oxiam nomine paludem efficiunt longe lateque diffuſam." (Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--410, 411. 4to L. B. 1693.) The Baron de St. Croix remarks that Ammianus Marcellinus hath tranſlated the Greek word "λιμνην" of Ptolemy by "paludem" whereas it ſignifies both a lake and a marſh or fen, and that the former term would have agreed better both with the actual ſtate of the Oxian lake, and the text of the Greek geographer.

[s] "Oxus amnis, ortus in lacu Oxo." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--676.

[t] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.

the forty-fifth, which perfectly correſponds with the modern obſervations. It is true that the Greek geographer allows this Latitude to the middle of the lake, which ſhould have been given to the Northern ſide of it, but the error is the reſult of the Ptolemean ſyſtem, which throws back all the part of Aſia beyond the Paropamiſus, much farther North than it really is. Monſieur de l'Iſle hath remarked, with great propriety, that the mouth of the Volga, which ought to be placed at the forty-ſixth degree, is to be found at the forty-ninth, and the Southern ſhore of the Caſpian ſea at the fortieth degree inſtead of the thirty-ſeventh, [w] an inaccuracy of great conſequence and moment. With theſe errors, it is extraordinary that Ptolemy ſhould have ſo nearly approached the true Latitude of the Aral or Khareſm, which is ſtill called Ogouz by the Tartars. Its ancient name of Oxian was derived from the Oxus, of which the Aces or Akes was probably a corruption, and the affinity of the Oxus with the modern Ogouz is eaſily perceptible.

In the Calmuck and Mungal tongues, Ongon ſignifies the Gift of God, and Ogouz ſeems to be derived from this word. The Carakalpak Tartars, that inhabit the country near the lake Aral, conduct a thouſand little ſtreams from it over their ſandy plains, and when the water is evaporated, their ſurface is covered with a ſort of cryſtallized ſalt, which is the only one theſe Tartars as well as thoſe of Caſaſtichia-Orda, and of Chareſmus are able to procure.

[w] Memoire ſur la mer Caſpienne. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences. 1721. 248.

procure. From the great advantages which all theſe nations receive from the Aral, its Tartar name may have been given to it on principles of gratitude, and they might conſider it as one of the immediate gifts of heaven. On the whole, it may be reaſonably inferred, that the Oxian lake is that of the Ogouz or Aral, which was known to the ancient geographers, though the contrary hath been ſuppoſed.[x]

Polycletus[y] had confounded the Palus Mæotis with the Caſpian ſea, which received into it, according to Plutarch[z] and Q. Curtius,[a] this ſpecies of lake, whoſe true poſition Arrian[b] hath eſtabliſhed in his hiſtory of Alexander's expeditions. From this circumſtance, however, the Periplus of the Erythrean ſea appears to have been falſely attributed to this Greek hiſtorian, as its author

 hath

[x] The Baron de St. Croix obſerves, though Monſieur de Buffon aſſures us before the conqueſt of Peter the 1st "On ignoroit juſqu'à l'exiſtence du lac Aral, qui en eſt eloigne (de la mer Caſpienne) vers l'Orient, d'environ cent lieus, ou ſi on connoiſſoit quelques unes des cotês de cé lac Aral, on croyoit que c'etoit une partie de la mer Caſpienne," (Hiſt. Nat. Tom. 2.--160. Ed. 12mo) that Eldriſi, who compoſed his Work in the 527th year of the Hegira, which anſwers to the 1149th and 1150th of the Vulgar Era, expreſsly mentions the lake of Aral, Kharem, or Chouaraſm, according to the Maronite orthography, and that it is accurately diſtinguiſhed from the Caſpian ſea. (Climat. 3. Part. 8.--138. Ed. 1619.) Abulfeda alſo ſpeaks of this lake under the name of the Chouraſmian lake, which opens into the Dgeihoun or Gihon. Deſcript. Choraſm. Geograph. Minor. Tom. 3.--23.

[y] Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

[z] De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--690.

[a] Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--410.

[b] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 30.--254. See alſo Dodwell. Diſſert. in Script. Geograph. Minor. Tom. 4.--85.

hath advanced, that the Palus Mæotis and Caſpian ſea diſcharge their waters together into the Ocean.[c]

Theſe errors, reſpecting the communication of the two ſeas, poſſibly afforded reaſon for Clitarchus[d] to believe, that the Caſpian ſea and the Pontus Euxinus were the ſame. Q. Curtius perhaps adopted the opinion,[e] but he is little ſolicitous as to any conſequences, which depend upon his ſentiments, and both relates contrary hypotheſes, and admits them without caution or diſtinction. The name of Tanais given to the Iaxartes, from a corruption of the word Ikſærte, which in the Mungal language conveys the idea of a great river, may have ſtrengthened the opinion. Diodorus Siculus,[f] Juſtin,[g] and Q. Curtius[h] have confounded theſe two

[c] "Καθ' ἡν." Geograph. Minor. Tom. 1.--37.

[d] "Qui a crû que la mer Caſpienne etoit la meme que celle du pont Euxin." The Baron de St. Croix ſupports the aſſertion by a reference to "Nam et irrumpit e Scythico oceano in averſa Aſiæ, pluribus nominibus accolarum appellatum, celeberrimis duobus, Caſpio et Hyrcanio. Non minus hoc eſſe quam Pontum Euxinum, Clitarchus putat." (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 13. Tom. 1.--668.) Of the validity of the evidence the reader will judge.

[e] "Opinion adopteè par Q. Curce." The Baron de St. Croix directs his readers to the following paſſages. "Cum vero venti a Pontico mari ſpirant quidquid fabuli in campis jacet converrunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--509.) "Aſiæ omnia fere flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caſpium mare, alia in Hyrcanum et in Ponticum decidunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--501.) On the former, Cellarius hath defended the Latin hiſtorian, though weakly, and argues that the wind blows, in the ſame direction, both from the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas towards Bactria: in the latter, Q. Curtius ſeems to have diſtinguiſhed them. I have added the hypothetical "Perhaps."

[f] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--261.

[g] Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 5.---315.

[h] Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 6. Tom. 2.--525. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531, 532.

two rivers, which Plutarch[i] and Arrian[k] have diſcriminated, though the pride and vanity of the Macedonians wiſhed to unite them.[l]

Ptolemy[m] knew the difference, but bowing with ſubmiſſion to the authority of the hiſtorians of the Conqueror of Aſia reſpecting the altars, which this Prince erected on the banks of the Iaxartes in memory of his conqueſts, the Greek geographer hath tranſported them near the river Tanais, where, after running in a Southerly direction from its ſource, it approaches the Rha, and then turning to the Weſt, ſtretches to the Palus Mæotis, in which it loſes itſelf.

The Greek geographer following the ſame guides, hath multiplied the Scythians, as well as the Aorſes and Agathyrſes. Theſe nations inhabited one ſide of the Tanais, where Ptolemy places them,[n] but he reckons them, notwithſtanding, a ſecond time amongſt

[i] De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--691.

[k] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 30.--254.

[l] "Επειδη γαρ ὁμολογητο, ὁτι εκ παντων διειργει την Ασιαν απο της Ευρωπης ὁ Ταναις ποταμος, το δε μεταξυ της Θαλατης, ϗ τε Ταναιδος πολυ μεσος της Ασιας ον, εχ'ὑπεπιπτε τοις Μακεδοσι." Strabo. Lib. 11.--777.

[m] Ptolemy. Lib. 3. C. 5. The Baron de St. Croix accuſes the editor of Ptolemy with a wilful intention of miſunderſtanding him, and of removing the altars in oppoſition to the Text of Ptolemy, to the foot of the Riphæan mountains.

[n] Ptolem. Lib. 3. C. 5.

amongſt the Aſiatic Scythians.[o] If Pliny[p] appears to have not entirely avoided this miſtake, he diſtinguiſhes at leaſt by additional names the people of European Scythia, that he places near the Caſpian ſea, and underſtands the Aorſes by the Naſotiani, and the Arimaſpians by the Cacidari.[q] But perhaps theſe Aſiatic Scythians were colonies of the European Scythians, and preſerved their names after their migrations.

The ignorance of Q. Curtius equalled his credulity. Deceived by the name of the Tanais, improperly given to the Iaxartes, he ſweeps from the ſurface of the earth all Aſia ſituated between theſe two rivers, and ſpeaks of Bactria as the laſt province of Aſia, and ſeparated only from Europe by the Tanais, which he conſiders as the boundary of theſe two quarters of the world.[r] In direct contradiction to ſuch a declaration, he pretends in another part of his work, that the Scythians, who lived above the Cimmerian

[o] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 14.

[p] "Ultraque Choraſmii, Candari, Attaſini, Paricani, Sarangæ, Parrhaſini, Maratiani, Naſotiani, Aorſi, Gelæ, quos Græci Caduſios appellavere, Matiani." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--675, 676.

[q] "Ariſmaſpi antea Cacidari." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.

[r] "Tanais Europam et Aſiam medius interfluit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2.--398.) "Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis, quos Europæos vocant, dividit. Idem Aſiam et Europam finis interfluit. ——Si vero Tanaim tranſierimus——Quis dubitavit patere etiam Europam victoribus? ——unus amnis interfluit, quem ſi trajicimus, in Europam arma proferimus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531——535.

merian Boſphorus, belonged to Aſia.[s] The region, which extends above the Boſphorus and Palus Mæotis, is notwithſtanding to the Weſt of the Tanais, and conſequently ſituated in Europe, and is inhabited by the Roxolanes and Iazyges, two nations of European Scythians.[t] Q. Curtius hath fallen into this error, from having varied the ſituation of the mouths and the courſe of the Tanais, and advanced the Longitude five degrees. He adds afterwards, that the Scythians, from whom the Parthians ſprung, did not come originally from the Boſphorus, but out of Europe.[w] In this manner he removes the Cimmerian Boſphorus into Aſia, whilſt the ſtrait, by which the Palus Mæotis diſcharges itſelf into the Pontus Euxinus, forms the ſeparation of Aſia and of Europe, whoſe limits have been ſo ſtrangely deſcribed.

The falſe and erroneous poſition of many nations is a neceſſary conſequence. The Cercetes, the Moſynœcians, and the Chalybians, are placed on the left of the Caſpian ſea, and the Leucoſyrians and the Amazons on the right.[x] But the ancient geographers

[s] "Qui ſuper Boſphorum colunt, adſcribuntur Aſiæ." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--398.

[t] Ptolem. Lib. 3. C. 5.

[w] "Nec dubitatur, quin Scythæ, qui Parthos condidere, non a Boſphoro, ſed ex regione Europæ penetraverint." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 2.--398.

[x] "Cercetæ, Moſyni, et Chalybes a lævâ ſunt; ab alterâ parte Leucoſyri et Amazonum campi; et illos qua vergit ad ſeptentrionem; hos ad occaſum converſa proſpectat." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--409.

phers have uniformly eſtabliſhed the Moſynœcians, the Chalybians, and their neighbours the Cercetes, called in later times the Apaites, in the mountains near the Pontus Euxinus,[y] and the Leucoſyrians were the inhabitants of Cappadocia,[z] whoſe ſituation is well known, as well as the country of the fabulous Amazons, who were ſuppoſed to have occupied the plains of Themiſcyra,[a] on the banks of the Thermodon. A ſingle error in geography is the parent of many others, and Q. Curtius again juſtifies the obſervation. This Latin hiſtorian, after having varied the poſition of the Chalybians, adds that they were neighbours to the great cities of Sinope and Amiſus.[b] Amiſus was at the diſtance of twelve hundred Olympic ſtadia to the North-Eaſt of the Chalybians,[c] and Sinope, a celebrated

[y] Strabo. Lib. 12.--825.—Scylax. 79.—Dionys. Perieg. V. 768.—Et Euſtathii Comment. ad Loc.—Xenophon. Exped. Cyri. Lib. 5.--379. 4to Oxon. 1735. Theſe Moſynœci were alſo called Moſſuni, and the learned reader may conſult on the etymology of the name, Apollonius Rhodius. Lib. 2. V. 1018. &c. with the Scholia on it, and alſo on Lib. 5. V. 379.—Bochart. Phaleg. 3.-12.

[z] Herodotus. Lib. 1.--35. All the tract waſhed by the river Halys ſeems to be called, by the ancient authors, indiſcriminately, Syria, Aſſyria and Leucoſyria. See Apoll. Rhod. 947——966. with the Scholia.—Dionys. Perieg. V. 733.—Strabo. Lib. 12.--819.—Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 3. Tom. 1.--651.

[a] Strabo. Lib. 12.--823.—P. Mela. Lib. 1. C. 19.--108, 109.

[b] "Cet hiſtorien, apres avoir changè la ſituation des Chalybes, ajonte que ce peuple etoit vois in de deux villes celebres, Sinope et Amiſus." The Baron de St. Croix muſt be reſponſible for his own aſſertion, for though he refers his readers to the fourth Chapter of the ſixth Book of Q. Curtius, not a ſyllable reſpecting either Sinope or Amiſus is to be found in it.

[c] See the Chart of Aſia Minor by d'Anville.

brated city of Paphlagonia, was twelve hundred ſtadia to the North-Weſt of Amiſus. [d]

OF THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRIES of HIGHER ASIA.

Pharaſmanes the king of the Choraſmians came, according to Arrian, to meet Alexander, and he aſſured him, that he was a neighbour of Colchis and the Amazons, which is an abſurd miſtake, and originated like that of Q. Curtius, already noticed. The Choraſmians reſided on the banks of the Oxus, to the Eaſt of the Caſpian ſea, a poſition, which Ptolemy hath accurately marked, [e] who is far from multiplying this nation, as hath been unjuſtly objected to him. [f] The name of Khareſm or Khoareſm, which hath been preſerved with its ancient poſition by the Orientals, [g] ſufficiently

X x

[d] Marcian of Heraclea, (Geograph. Minor. Tom. 1.--74.) the Baron de St. Croix remarks, only reckons three hundred and fifty ſtadia between Sinope and Amiſus, and he ſuppoſes an error in the numerical letters. Inſtead of the "τ ν" he reads "α ν," which will then agree with the calculation of the author of the Periplus Euxinus. "Απο δε Σινωπης εις Καρυσαν πεντηκοντα ϗ ἑκατον (ϛαδιοι.)——————ενδενδε εις Ζαγωρα αλλοι αυ πεντηκοντα ϗ ἑκατον· ενδενδε εις τον Ἅλυν ποταμον, τριακοσιοι——————απο δε Ἁλυος ποταμε εις Ναυσαθμον, ϛαδιοι ενενηκοντα——————ενδενδε εις Κωνωπειον αλλην λιμνην, αλλοι αυ πεντηκοντα; Απο δε Κωνωπειε εις Ευσηνην ἑκατον ϗ εικοσι· ενδενδε εις Αμισον ἑκατον ϗ ἑξηκοντα." Arrian. Peripl. Pont. Euxin. 127, 128. 8vo Amſt. 1683.

[e] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 12.

[f] Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 25.--52.

[g] Abulfeda. Geograph. Min. Tom. 3.--20.—Eldriſi. Geog. Min. 138.

ciently demonſtrates the ſituation of this Scythian people, a tribe of the Saques or rather Saces, who were an Abian colony.

Alexander's hiſtorians have been accuſed of tranſporting the Abians of Europe into Aſia,[h] but carrying our inquiries far back, they may poſſibly be juſtified. The Scythians have in fact occupied almoſt all the Northern regions of the ancient Continent, or with a greater accuracy of expreſſion, the uniformity of manners and modes of life, ſo viſible in the different tribes of people, who inhabited that extenſive tract of country, gave the Greeks ſome reaſons to compriſe them under the general name of Scythians. Their proper name, we are told by Herodotus, was that of the Scolotes, derived from one of their kings:[i] they were conſidered only as one people, and in this ſenſe is Thucydides alſo to be underſtood, when ſpeaking of their force and power.[k] Superior in numbers to any other nation in Europe or in Aſia, when united they were irreſiſtible, and in reality they both peopled many countries, and ſpread themſelves almoſt over the face of the whole earth.

The geographers diſtinguiſhed the Scythians by the European and Aſiatic Scythians, but the term is too vague and comprehenſive. They may

[h] Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 26.--50.

[i] "Συμπασι δε ειναι ουνομα Σκολοτους, του βασιλεως επωνυμιην· Σκυθας δε Ἑλληνες ουνομασαν." Herodot. Lib. 4.--282, 283.

[k] "Ταυτη δε αδυνατα εξισουσθαι ουχ' ὁτι τα εν τη Ευρωπη, αλλ' ουδ' εν τη Ασιη εθνος ἑν προς ἑν εςιν ὁ, τι δυνατον Σκυθαις ομογνωμονουσι πασιν αντιςηναι." Thucydides. Hiſt. Lib. 2.--163.

may be more properly claſſed in the two ſeparate diviſions of the Nomades or wandering Scythians, and the Scythians who had fixed dwelling-places, and cultivated the country on which they ſettled. Ephorus has adopted the diviſion.[l] In the origin indeed of ſociety, it is perhaps the only one of any ſervice in aſcertaining the different nations of the world. Both the progreſs of civilization, which always ſtrikes at the root of morality, and the foundation of towns and cities, that conſtantly increaſe at the expence of the ſurrounding countries, whoſe inhabitants they regularly ſwallow up, whilſt at the ſame time they introduce a luxury, that ſoon renders contemptuous the ſober duties of rural life, have always put an end to theſe two claſſes, which for the happineſs of every people, were originally their ſole diſtinctions.——With the ancient Perſians there was indeed no other,[m] and they ſtill ſubſiſt amongſt the Tartars, who are the deſcendants of the Scythians. The powerful tribe of the Uſbeck Tartars is divided into the Oulagets, who rove from place to place, and are ſhepherds by profeſſion, and the Bukhars or Særtes, who live in villages, and have fixed habitations.[n] The ſhepherds or wandering Scythians were the moſt numerous, and included the Abians, a name which was given to any wandering nation, and which related to their form of life,

[l] Strabo. Lib. 7.--463, 464.

[m] Herodotus. Lib. 1.--62, 63.

[n] Strahlenberg's Deſcription of the North and Eaſtern part of Europe and Aſia.

that Horace has deſcribed,[o] and in which, detached from thoſe poſſeſſions that ſometimes have an influence on the probity of the heart, they acquired a character of integrity, which even Homer celebrates.[p]

Ariſtarchus pretends that the name of Abians was confined to a particular nation,[q] and this opinion in ſome meaſure may agree with that which hath been adopted, and is authorized by the concurrent teſtimony of a crowd of writers, geographers, hiſtorians, and grammarians.[r] This appellation, after having been applied in general to all the wandering nations, was afterwards reſtrained to thoſe particular people, whoſe manners and way of life correſpond moſt with the idea repreſented by the term of Abians. A paſſage of Scymnus of Chios, ſeems to ſet the ſubject in a clear light. The

[o] "Quorum plauſtra vagas rite trahunt Domus."

Horat. Carm. Lib. 3.--24.--10.

Silius Italicus hath condenſed the hiſtory of their life into the narrow compaſs of two lines.

"Nulla domus; plauſtris habitant: migrare per arva,
Mos, atque errantes circumvectare Penates."

[p] "Γλακτοφαγων, Αβιων τε, δικαιοτατων ανθρωπων." Hom. Iliad. 13. V. 6.

[q] Apoll. Lexic. Tom. 1--13. And the ingenious conjecture of Monſieur de Villoiſon on the name of this people. 14.

[r] "Τες ανεσιες καὶ τες ἁμαξοικες." Strabo. Lib. 7.--455.—Euſtathius. ad V. 6. Homer. Iliad. 13.—Nicol. Damaſc. de Mor. Gent. ad Calcem. Repul. Lac. Crag. 548. Ονβιαιοι, Δικαιοτατες.—Heſych. in Voc. Αβιων.—Apoll. Lexic. 13, 14.—Etymol. Mag. Ed. Sylb. 232, 233.—Steph. Byzant. 6, 7.

The geographical poet, after having mentioned the Scythians who had fixed dwelling-places, and cultivated the country that they occupied, following Ephorus his guide, adds, "many other people, who have no particular names, are ſhepherds, and from their religious principles treat their flocks with tenderneſs. They drink mares' milk like the Scythians, and have only one common property. Anacharſis is ſaid to have been born amongſt theſe people, celebrated for their moral character, and many of theſe Scythians are ſuppoſed to have paſſed into Aſia, and there formed ſettlements, where they took the name of Saces."[s] The ſame paſſage is likewiſe extracted from the fourth book of Ephorus, in the fragment of the Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus, publiſhed by Voſſius.[t] Strabo after having cited it from Ephorus, joins to it the verſes of the poet Chærilus, in which he ſays, that "the Saces were ſhepherds

[s] "Τον Παντικαπη διαβαντι Λιμναιων εθνος,
Ετερα τε πλειονα ε διωνομασμενα,
Νομαδικα δε επι καλεμενα ευσεβη πασιν
Ως εδεν εμψυχων αδικησαι ποτ' αν,
Οικοφορα δ' ως εικε κ' σιτεμενα,
Γαλακτι, ταις Σκυθικαις τε ἱππομολγιαις
Ζωσι δε την τε κτησιν αναδεδεγμενοι
Κοινην απαντων την τε ὁλην υσιαν·
Και τον σοφον Αναχαρσιν εκ των Νομαδικων
Φησι γενεσθαι των σφοδρ' ευσεβεστατων.
——————κ' κατοικησαι τινας
Εις Ασιαν ελθοντας, ὁς δη κ' Σακας
Καλεσιν·

Scymni Chii Fragm. 111-123. Geog. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Tom. 2. 49-50.

[t] Added to Scylax. 138. Ed. Gronovii. 4to L. B. 1700.

herds of Scythian origin, celebrated for their integrity, who inhabited Aſia, a fertile country,"[w] and he confirms the opinion of Ephorus.

We learn from Herodotus[x] and Pliny,[y] that the Perſians included all the Scythians under the Saces, becauſe this people agreeable to the ideas of the Roman Naturaliſt, was the neareſt to their empire. But perhaps they might have other reaſons, and the term had probably a different origin.

A knowledge of the old Runic tongue, the Sclavonian dialects, and of the language of Thibet or Tangut, as well as of the Perſian and Turkiſh idioms, would afford us undoubtedly great aſſiſtance in the explication of many Scythian names, but the ſureſt and moſt uſeful would be the Mungal, which was ſo widely ſpread in

"Μηλονομοι τε Σακαι, γενεα Σκυθαι αυταρ εναιον
Ασιδα πυροφορον· νομαδων γε μεν ησαν αποικοι
Ανθρωπων νομιμων."

Strabo. Lib. 7.--464.

x "Οι γαρ Περσαι παντας τους Σκυθους καλεουσι Σακας." Herod. Lib. 7.--540.

y "Ultra ſunt Scytharum populi Perſæ, illos Sacas in univerſum appellavere a proximâ gente, antiqui Aramæos." (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.) The Greeks, the Baron de St. Croix remarks from Ariſtophanes, applied the term of "Saces" to thoſe, who had no fixed place of reſidence, and were not Citizens of any town.

"Ημεις γαρ, ω'νδρες, οἱ παροντες εν λογω,
Νοσον νοσουμεν την εναντιαν Σακα·
Ὁ μεν γαρ ων ουκ αστος, εισβιαζεται."

Ariſtoph. Aves. 30——33.

in Aſia.[z] The word Saki imports in it "I maſſacre," and it is very probable, that the Scythians in their bloody engagements with the Perſians, cried out, when their enemies gave way, Sakib, Sakib,[a] kill or maſſacre, and that the nation, whoſe language was not underſtood, took its name from the impreſſion, which fear had profoundly graven on the heart, and the term, which it uſed itſelf in its combats. From Sakib or Saki the derivation of the Saces is naturally eaſy,[b] who were alſo called Amourgians,[c] according to Herodotus, from one of their kings, of whom Cteſias[d] ſpeaks, and not from Margus a river of Margia, as Monſieur Freret[e] conjectures. The Saces in reality never inhabited this country, and differed but little from the Aſpaciaſquians or rather Aſpaciacians, as will be hereafter mentioned: but it may be firſt neceſſary to fix the poſition of the Abians.—Strabo ſpeaks of the Saces as the moſt Eaſtern tribe of the Scythians beyond the Caſpian ſea, and he places them, like Marcian of Heraclea, on the ſame line with the Sogdians, near a ford of the Iaxartes, which facilitated their communication

[z] Strahlenberg. Deſcription of the North and Eaſtern part of Europe and Aſia.

[a] Sakib in the Imperative, ſee the Mungal grammar in Thevenot.

[b] Steph. Byzant. 580. Reland, according to the Baron de St. Croix, hath traced the etymology of the word up to the Arabians. (Diſſert. de Vet. Ling. Perſarum in voce Sacæ.) The German extraction however of Wachter, in his Gloſſary, (1336) "Saka, nocere, vulnerare, damnum inferre," the Baron de St. Croix apprehends to be more legitimate.

[c] "Τους δε παντας Σκυθας Αμυργιους, Σακας καλεουσι." Herod. Lib. 7.--540.

[d] Phot. Bibl. 108.

[e] Obſervations ſur la Cyropedie. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, Tom. 7.--436.

communication with the Maſſagetes.[f] Agathemerus aſſures us, that on coming from the Weſt we find Sogdia and afterwards the Saces.[g] Ptolemy enters into more ſatisfactory details, and informs his readers that the Saces had to the Weſt, Sogdiana, and Scythia to the North, which was extended in a parallel line to the place where the Iaxartes changed its courſe,[h] and after having run from Eaſt to Weſt, turned towards the North-Weſt. The country of the Saces, who were ſupported by their flocks, and never inhabited any towns, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, joined Sogdia,[i] and a diſtrict immediately contiguous to this province on the Eaſt, preſerves even at this day the name of Sakita,[k] which ſeems to have a near affinity with the ancient name of the Saces, and to point out the identity of the true poſition of theſe people.

Diodorus Siculus pretends, that all Scythia beyond the Edmodus or Emodus to the North of India, was occupied by the Saces;[l] but we may eaſily diſcover that he was deceived, by the extent of territory, which the Perſians allowed to this nation. Eratoſthenes is not

[f] "Τȣς δε προσεωȣς τȣτων μαλλον Μασσαγετας, ϗ Σακας ονομαζȣσι." Strabo. Lib. 11.--778.

[g] "Ειτα Σογδιανα, ειτα Σακια." Agathemerus. Lib. 2. C. 6. 4to L. B. 1700.

[h] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 13.

[i] "His contigui ſunt Sacæ, natio fera, ſqualentia incolens loca ſolo pecori fructuoſa, ideo nec civitatibus culta." Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--411. 4to L. B. 1693.

[k] Geographe Ancienne de Monſieur d'Anville. Tom. 2.--319.

[l] "Την δε προς τας Αρκτȣς το Ημωδον ορος διειργει της Σκυθιας, ἡν κατοικȣσι των Σκυθων οἱ προσαγορευομενοι Σακαι." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--148.

not leſs reprehenſible, who ſeparates the Scythians and the Sogdians by the Iaxartes,[m] and we may judge of the accuracy of this geographer, reſpecting the North of Aſia, from the poſition, which he gives to the Aracoſians and Maſſagetes, on the banks of the Oxus near Bactria. Eratoſthenes ſeems to conſider theſe two nations as adjoining ones, whilſt one was to the North of the Iaxartes, and the other to the Weſt of the Paropamiſus, and conſequently about three thouſand Olympic ſtadia from the Oxus.

As the Saces were a colony of Abians to the Eaſt of Sogdia, the hiſtorians of Alexander have incurred no juſt cauſe of cenſure from their tranſportation of this wandering tribe out of Europe into Aſia, where ſome of them actually ſettled. Yet Arrian is not entirely unexceptionable, when he mentions towns belonging to theſe hordes,[n] who had no fixed and determinate place of reſidence, paſſing a vagrant life with their cars and waggons, and ſtopping only where they found a ſufficiency of paſturage for their flocks and cattle. The foundation indeed of towns cannot be reconciled with the Scythian mode of life in general, and more particularly claſhes with that of the Abian Saces. The ſeries of events, which Arrian hath deſcribed, appear to indicate that the Scythians, who defended the paſſage of the Iaxartes were Abians,[o] though we have more reaſon to believe that he meant the Maſſa-

 getes,

[m] "Διειργειν δε Σακας μεν, και Σογδιανες τον Ιαξαρτην." Strabo. Lib. 11. 782.

[n] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 1.—258.

[o] ——————— Lib. 4. C. 4.—264——267.

getes, whoſe ſituation, to the North of the river, made it more immediately neceſſary for them to oppoſe the progreſs of the Macedonian Monarch. They attended Spitamenes in his expedition againſt Bactria,[p] after his irruption into Sogdia, in which he had been reduced to the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege of Marcanda, and of retreating to take refuge amongſt the wandering Scythians. Pharnuces, who purſued him, imprudently got into the midſt of theſe people before he was aware of them,[q] and this circumſtance evidently proves, that they were the tribes of Abian Scythians. A body of troops might enter their country without having the difficulty of paſſing any river, and the Maſſagetes had the Iaxartes for a barrier. Pharnuces had been led on to a diſtance by the facility of his march, and when he was attacked by the Abian Saces, who had aſſiſted Spitamenes, he was obliged to fly with all his cavalry.[r] Arrian therefore ought not to have diſtinguiſhed the Saces from the Aſiatic Saces,[s] and his opinion has been improperly adopted by many other writers. Ptolemy was undoubtedly led aſtray by their authority, who reckons the Abians the moſt Northern of the tribes of Scythians beyond mount Imaus.[t]

The

[p] "Σπιταμενης τε ἡ συν αυτω των Σογδιανων τινες φυγαδων, ες των Σκυθων των Μασσαγετων καλεμενων την χωραν ξυμπεφευγοντες, ξυναγαγοντες των Μασσαγετων ἱππεας ἑξακοσιες, αφικοντο ωρος τι φρυριον των κατα την Βακτριανην." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 16.--299.

[q] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 5.--268, 269.

[r] ——————— Lib. 4. C. 5.--269.

[s] ——————— Lib. 4. C. 1.--257, 258.

[t] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 15.

The Oxus ſeparated Bactria from Sogdia, but Polybius tells us, that this river having riſen in Caucaſus, by which the Paropamiſus is to be underſtood, rolls through Bactria, where it is augmented by numerous ſtreams, that diſcharge themſelves into it.[w] It is certain however, that the Oxus received almoſt as many rivers, which opened into it from Sogdia as from Bactria. The expreſſions of this able hiſtorian, might induce us to ſuppoſe that he placed the Oxus in the centre of Bactria, ſince it is in Bactria, that he ſuppoſed it to be principally ſwoln by the various rivers that run into it. Dionyſius the geographer hath ſtated a ſuppoſition nearly as erroneous, and makes the Oxus to croſs Sogdia,[x] whilſt it ſerves from its ſource to ſeparate the two provinces of Bactria and Sogdia.[y] Polybius farther informs us, that the Aſpaſiacian Scythians, reſiding between the Tanais, which throws itſelf into the Palus Mæotis, and the Oxus, whoſe ſtream loſes itſelf in the Caſpian ſea, croſſed the latter river to make incurſions into Hyrcania.[z] But the Greek hiſtorian muſt have been deceived by the improper name given to the Iaxartes, and has in conſequence fallen into the

 ſame

w "Ὁ γαρ Οξος εχει μεν εκ τȣ Καυκασȣ τας πηγας· επι πολυ δ'αυξηθεις εν τη Βακτριανη, συρρεοντων εις αυτȣ ὑδατων, φερεται δια πεδιαδος χωρας, πολλω ϗ θολερω ρευματι." Polybius. Lib. 10. C. 48. Tom. 3.--303, 304. 8vo Lips. 1790.

x "Τοις δ'επι προς Βορεην Χορασμιοι· ὁις επι γαια
Σȣγδιας, ἡς δια μεσσον ἑλισσεται ἱερος Ωξος
Ὁςε λιπων Ἡμωδον ὁρος, μετα Κασπιδα βαλλει."
Dionys. Perieg. 746——748.

y "Ὁς ὁριζει την τε των Βακτριων, ϗ την των Σογδιων." Strabo. Lib. 11.--786.

z "Περαιȣμενοι τον Οξον, εις την Ὑρκανιαν ερχονται." Polyb. Lib. 10. C. 48.--303.

ſame errors with the hiſtorians of Alexander's life and actions. The remainder of his narrative proves deciſively, that this Scythian nation, which he meant by the Aſpaſiacians were the Saces: the term Aſpaſiacians might be an additional appellation to ſome particular tribe of them.[a] The Aſpaſiacian Scythians, we are told, had the Oxus only to paſs in their irruptions into Hyrcania, and if their country was ſituated between the Oxus and the real Tanais, it muſt have included an immenſe tract of country, and a multitude of rivers muſt have oppoſed their numerous barriers to them, inſtead of which Polybius only takes notice of the Oxus. This river rolled over rocks, and formed according to ſome authors a kind of natural bridge of a ſtadium in length, over which the Scythians paſſed without difficulty;[b] but others ſuppoſed, that they took advantage of the place, where the Oxus diſappears and runs under ground for ſome diſtance. The firſt of theſe opinions may not have been totally fictitious, as the Dgeihon or Amu, the Oxus of the Ancients, ſeparates into many branches in the cantons of Balk and Termed, and afterwards collecting again its divided ſtreams, paſſes between two mountains, by a narrow chaſm called Dehani-Chir

[a] Ptolemy, in the Baron de St. Croix's opinion, hath diſtinguiſhed, without any authority, the Aſpaſians or Aſpaſiacians from the Saces, and given the Aſpaſians a poſition too far North.

[b] "Δια δε τȣτȣ τȣ τοπȣ φασι τȣς Ασπασιακας παρ αυτην την πετραν ὑπο την καταφοραν τȣ ποταμȣ πεζευειν μετα των ἱππων εις την Ὑρκανιην· Ὁ δ'ἑτερος λογος επιεικεςεραν εχει τȣ προσθεν την αποφασιν· τȣ γαρ ὑποκειμενȣ· τοπȣ μεγαλȣς εχοντος πλαταμωνας, εις ȣς καταρρατ῎ει, τȣτȣς φασι τη βια τȣ ρευματος εκκοιλαινοντα κ᾽ διαρρηγνυντα κατα βαθος, ὑπο γην φερεσθαι τοπον ȣ πολυν, ειτ'αναφαινεσθαι παλιν· τȣς δε Βαρβαρȣς δια την εμπειριαν κατα τον διαλειποντα τοπον ποιεσθαι, την διοδον επι των ἱππων εις την Ὑρκανιαν." Polyb. Lib. 10. C. 48. Tom. 3.--304.

Chir or the Lion's mouth,[c] with ſcarcely an opening of fifty yards, which may be eaſily ſuppoſed to have been the natural bridge of the Oxus.—Polybius ſeems to have adopted the ſecond idea, and it appears more probable. The Dgeihon beyond Dehani-Chir runs into a plain of ſand of two leagues in length, where it loſes itſelf. This plain might formerly have been very paſſable, but at preſent it is too hazardous to be attempted: at the end of it the Dgeihon again appears, and reſumes its courſe towards Khareſm. The circumſtance of rivers burying themſelves, in this part of the world, within the boſom of the earth is not extraordinary, and Strabo is not juſtified in diſputing the relation of Ariſtobulus,[d] who aſſures us, that the Polymetus, the Sogd of the Orientals, after having watered the valley of Marcanda loſt itſelf in the ſand, without diſcharging itſelf into the Caſpian ſea, as Ptolemy[e] hath related, which was phyſically impoſſible. The courſe of the Polymetus would in that caſe have been intercepted by the Oxus, which ſtretched from the South to the North-Weſt.—The paſſage of the Aſpaſiacians near Termed, according to the real poſition of theſe places, proves that the Scythians made their incurſions into

[c] Voyage d'Otter. Tom. 1.—236. The Turkiſh geographer, according to the Baron de St. Croix, enters into ſome intereſting details relative to the courſe of the Oxus. 882, 883, 884 and 885. And Eldriſi, in a Maronite interpretation, deſcribes the paſs in the following manner. "———Ubi abſcondit ſe ſub magno quodam monte, ſuper quem tranſeundi eſt quaſi pontem." Geog. Nub. Clim. 3. P. 8.—138.

[d] Strabo. Lib. 11.

[e] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 14.

into that part of Hyrcania, between the Ochus and the Oxus. Monſieur d'Anville reckons the Ochus to be the Northern limit of this province, and this able geographer, it is to be ſuppoſed, had good reaſons for abandoning the ſentiments of Strabo[f] as well as Ptolemy,[g] who throw back the frontiers of Hyrcania beyond the Ochus. This river, which anſwers to the modern Thus, that runs near Neſa, which took its name from Næſia a province of the ancient Hyrcania,[h] continues its courſe, like the Thus, into the Caſpian ſea.—Strabo relates the opinion of the writers, who imagined the Ochus and Oxus to form a junction,[i] and Q. Curtius hath been led into an error by it: Alexander, according to this hiſtorian, paſſed both theſe rivers to arrive at the city of Marginia,[k] where he pitched upon ſituations for ſix other towns. If the Macedonian Monarch, in his route from Bactria to Marginia, had met with the Ochus, it muſt have opened into the Oxus, or its courſe muſt have been lengthened from Eaſt to Weſt, which ſuppoſitions are equally falſe. The river to which Q. Curtius hath given the name of Ochus was the Margus, which runs in a parallel line with the Arius, and is ſtill called by the Perſians, Marg-

Ab.

f "Διαιρειται δε ϗ ποταμοις ἡ Ὑρκανιη τω τε Οχω ϗ τω Οξω." Strabo. Lib. 11.--776.

g Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 9.

h Strabo. Lib. 11.--776.

i ——— Lib. 11.--776.

k "Superatis deinde amnibus Ocho et Oxo, ad urbem Marginiam pervenit." Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 10. Tom. 2.--556.

Ab.[l] Pliny[m] informs us, that Antiochus the ſon of Seleucus rebuilt on the banks of the Margus one of the towns, which Alexander founded, and which had been deſtroyed by the Barbarians, but this king of Syria called it Antiochia, which proves the miſtake of Q. Curtius. It may be perhaps conjectured, that Q. Curtius meant another river, which had alſo the name of Ochus, and agreeable to Ptolemy united itſelf to the Dargomanis,[n] and then joined the Oxus, but the Greek geographer is here leſs exact than even the Latin hiſtorian.

Beſſus received ſome ſuccours from the Dahes, who reſided, according to Arrian,[o] beyond the Tanais or Iaxartes, but he places them much too far Northward. The Xanthians, Piſſurians, Aparnians or Parnians, ſerved to diſtinguiſh three tribes of this nation,[p] and the Aparnians were ſettled next Hyrcania and the borders of the Caſpian ſea. The Xanthians and Piſſurians extended themſelves along the ſhore and ſides of the ſea, in the Latitude of the ancient Aria. It is evident that Strabo, with whom Ptolemy[q] agrees, is accurate

[l] Geog. Ancienne par Monſieur d'Anville. Tom. 2.--297.

[m] "Alexander Alexandriam condiderat. Quâ dirutâ a Barbaris, Antiochus Seleuci filius, eodem loco reſtituit Syriam. Nam interfluente Margo, qui corrivatur in Zotale, is maluerat illam Antiochiam appellari." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--674, 675.

[n] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 11.

[o] "Δαας τους επι ταδε τω Ταναιδι ποταμω οικουντας." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 28. --249.

[p] Strabo. Lib. 11.--779.

[q] Ptolem. Lib. 6.

rate in his position of these people on this side of the Oxus, and that Arrian hath incorrectly transported them to the banks of the Iaxartes. Monsieur d'Anville hath placed them to the South of the Ochus, which seems to have been their true residence, pointed out by Strabo. This Greek geographer relates, that Arsaces governed the Dahes, called Parnians,[r] who had not absolutely any fixed settlement, but occasionally varied their residence, without quitting the environs of the Ochus. These Scythians are believed to have been a colony of the Dahes, that once occupied a tract of country above the *Palus Mæotis*,[s] and took the names of Aparnians, Xanthians, and *Pissurians*, in consequence of a migration like that of the Abians, who transplanting themselves into Asia were called the Saces, Amurgians and Aspasiacians. Herodotus considers the Mardes as a Persian people,[t] and he classes also another nation of the Mardes in the nineteenth Satrapy, with the Mossynœcians and Tibarenes.[w] It is probable, that the name of Mard was given as a general term to the inhabitants of the mountains, who owed their liberty to the inaccessible ramparts of their country, Mard signifying in the Persian tongue a brave man, and Marad in the Hebrew, a revolt. The Mardes, according to Herodotus, were a wandering people,

r "Αρσακης ανηρ Σκυθης των Δαων τινας εχων τους Παρνους καλουμενους Νομιδας, παροικουντας τον Οχον." Strabo. Lib. 11.--783.

s "Φασι δε τους Παρνους Δαας μεταναστας ειναι εκ των ὑπερ της Μαιωτιδος Λαων." Strabo. Lib. 11.--784.

t Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

w ——— Lib. 3.--246.

people, and principally ſhepherds,[x] an employment and mode of life in ſome meaſure connected with their ſituation, which muſt have been the Uxian mountains. We learn in fact from Q. Curtius, that this nation was near the Uxians,[y] and Mard might perhaps have been the name, which the Perſians gave to a part of the inhabitants of the Uxian mountains, who had never been ſubdued: thoſe who cultivated the plains, and were ſubject to the Perſian Satrap, were not diſtinguiſhed by this particular appellation, and were ſimply called Uxians.[z]——Q. Curtius[a] and many other writers have doubled the Mardes, and have introduced two different wars of Alexander with theſe people. Arrian adopts theſe opinions in his narrative concerning India,[b] though he only takes notice of a ſingle nation of this name,[c] in his hiſtory of the Macedonian Monarch, and relates an expedition againſt them after the death of Darius, in which Diodorus Siculus[d] and Juſtin[e] agree with him.

[x] "Οι δε αλλοι νομαδες, Δαοι." Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

[y] "Quinte Curce nous dit effectivement que cette nation etoit voiſine des Uxiens." In the paſſage referred to by the Baron de St. Croix, the Mardes are only mentioned in the following manner. "Ventum eſt in Mardorum gentem bellicoſiſſimam, et multum a ceteris Perſis cultu vitæ abhorrentem." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--353, 354.

[z] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 17.--219.

[a] Q. Curtius. Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--353, 354. The paſſage juſt cited, "Mardorum erat gens confinis Hyrcaniæ, cultu vitæ aſpera, et latrociniis adſueta." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--417.

[b] "Σασιοις δε προσοικοι ὁτι εισιν ὁι Ουξιοι, λελεκται μοι· καταπερ Μαρδοι μεν Περσησι προσεχεες οικεουσι." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 40.--630.

[c] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 24.--238, 239.

[d] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--219.

[e] Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 3.--308.

The Mardes, ſtrictly ſpeaking, were a Scythian people, who reſided in the mountains of Deilam, to the South of the Caſpian ſea, and they were more properly called the great Mardes or Amardians from the Amardus, which watered their country. Theſe Mardes or Amardians, were doubtleſs the people that Phraates, the firſt king of the Parthians, obliged to inhabit the city of Rages, which from that time became one of the greateſt cities of Media.[f] Pliny ought not therefore to have diſtinguiſhed the Amardians from the Mardes, "a rough and unconquered nation."[g] But the Latin Naturaliſt may have been deceived by the name of Mard, which the Perſians gave in general to the inhabitants of mountains, and particularly to the inhabitants of thoſe between Suſia and Perſia. He ſeems alſo to have multiplied them, and reckons five nations of them: one near Colchis,[h] of which Herodotus[i] alſo ſpeaks; a ſecond between Armenia and Media,[k] which appears to be the Gordians or Corduans; a third in Suſia,[l] which is the Uxians in queſtion, and the fourth is the Mardes,[m] which Pliny diſtinguiſhes very improperly from the Amardians or great Mardes, which he makes the fifth.[n]

The

[f] Iſidori Characeni. Mans. Parth. 6. Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. Græc. Tom. 2.

[g] "Gens Mardorum, fera, ſui juris." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 16. Tom. 1.--675.

[h] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--658.

[i] Herodot. Lib. 1.--63.

[k] Pliny's expreſſion is "Circa Mardos et Armenios." Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 31. C. 7. Tom. 4.--805.

[l] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 27.--718.

[m] ——— Lib. 6. C. 16.--675.

[n] ——— Lib. 6. C. 19.--678.

The hiſtorians of Alexander ſeized with a kind of tranſport on the reſemblance between the Agriaſpians or Ariaſpians, according to Ptolemy,[o] and the Arimaſpians, a people of European Scythia, celebrated both from the fables, that Ariſteas of Proconneſus[p] circulated of them, and alſo from the ſuccours given by them to the Argonauts, on which they had the name of Evergetes.[q] Theſe writers termed the Agriaſpians, who inhabited the South of the Aria Palus, or the modern lake Zera, Arimaſpians; and weakly imagined they had rendered the ſame ſervices to Cyrus,[r] that the Arimaſpians afforded the Argonauts, though the Perſian Monarch was perhaps never in their country. Diodorus Siculus, equally miſtaken from the ſimilitude of theſe ſervices and the names of the two nations, does not likewiſe ſcruple to apply to the Ariaſpians the term of Arimaſpians.[s]

[o] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 19.

[p] Herodot. Lib. 4.--286, 287, 288.

[q] Steph. Byzant.

[r] "Αφικνεται ες τες παλαι μεν Αγριασπας καλεμενες, ὑστερον δε Ευεργετας επονομασθεντας, ὁτι Κυρῳ τῳ Καμβυσε ξυνεπελαβοντο της ες Σκυθας ελασεως." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 27.--246.

[s] "Diodorus Siculus hath pretended to ſtate the preciſe relief, which they afforded Cyrus in his diſtreſs. "Ανεζευξε μετα της δυναμεως επι τες προτερον μεν Αριμασπες, νυν δ' Ευεργετας ονομαζομενες, δια τοιαυτας τινας αιτιας. Κυρῳ ὁ την Μηδων αρχην μηλασησας εις Περσας, εν τινι στρατεια περιληφθεις εν ερημῳ χωρᾳ ϗ πασης σπανει των αναγκαιων, ηλθε μεν επι τες εσχατες κινδυνες, δια την ενδειαν της τροφης αναγκαζομενων των στρατιωτων αλληλες σαρκοφαγειν. Των δε Αριμασπων τρισμυριας ἁμαξας σιτε γεμουσας παρακομισαντων, σωθεις παραδοξως ατελειαις τε ϗ αλλοις δορεαις ετιμησε το εθνος, ϗ την προπαρχουσαν προσηγοριαν αφελομενος, προσηγορευσεν Ευεργετας." Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--222.

The Etymander waſhed the country of the Ariaſpians,[t] and opened into the Aria Palus. Monſieur d'Anville ſuſpects Ptolemy of concluding this river deſcended into the Southern ocean:[w] the Greek geographer however takes no notice of the river Etymander, and mentions only a people of this name.[x]

After having taken a view of the courſe of the rivers, and the ſituation of the different tribes of Scythians, compriſed in the Northern part of Aſia that Alexander's army overſpread, it may be neceſſary to attend to the provinces, of which Aſia was itſelf compoſed.

Though Sogdia makes a conſiderable figure in the hiſtory of Alexander's expeditions, Q. Curtius ſpeaks of its inhabitants as hardly known,[y] and places them according to his own erroneous ideas near the real Tanais and Caucaſus. Stephanus Byzantinus appears to place Sogdia, in the ſituation that Bactria ſhould have occupied, near Paropamiſus,[z] yet the error may poſſibly be owing to the copyiſt.—Golius[a] hath made a ſimilar excuſe for Ptolemy, where

[t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 6.--273.

[w] Geograph. Anc. Tom. 2.--289.

[x] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 17.

[y] "Sogdianos et Arachoſios, nomine tantum notos." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 5. Tom. 1.--191.

[z] Steph. Byzant. Σογδιανη.

[a] Golius. Not. in Alfer. 171.

where he tranſports Marcanda the capital of Sogdia into Baƈtria, but as this city is ſtill falſely placed as to its Latitude,[b] we cannot ſo readily acquieſce in the idea of any miſtake in the text of the Greek geographer, and ſuppoſe the tranſcriber to have been alone reſponſible for it. Monſieur d'Anville[c] hath acutely remarked, that this inaccuracy aroſe from a falſe reckoning in the itinerary meaſures, and "by the allowance of too much ſpace to them, it inevitably followed, that Ptolemy gave in general a greater extent to the country than it really occupied, and Sogdia in particular was puſhed much too far."

Baƈtria, if we are to believe Q. Curtius, formed a third part of Aſia.[d] The Latin hiſtorian muſt have confounded Baƈtria in the time of Alexander, with the kingdom of Baƈtria formed afterwards by his ſucceſſors, 255 years before Chriſt. Menander, one of the moſt illuſtrious of theſe princes, croſſed the Hypanis and reduced many nations under his dominion, which the Macedonian Monarch had not conquered. Demetrius, the ſon of Euthedemus, alſo poſſeſſed himſelf not only of Patalene, but of many of the provinces on the coaſt of India,[e] and of the territories of Sigertes. Q. Curtius therefore

[b] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 11. Lib. 8. Tab. 7.

[c] "Auxquelles attribuant trop d'entendue, il devoit s'enſuivre que (Ptolemee) donna en general plus d'eſpace au pays qu'il n'en occupe, et que la Sogdiane en particulier fût pouſſeè beaucoup trop loin." Eclairciſſement. Geograph. ſur la Carte de l'Inde. 23.

[d] "Tertiam partem Aſiæ tenet." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--367.

[e] "Δημητριος ὁ Ευθυδημε υιος τε Βακτριων βασιλεως, ε μονον δε την Παταληνην κατεσχον, αλλα κ της αλλης παραλιας την τε Τεσσαριοσε καλεμενην, κ την Σιγερτιδος βασιλειαν. Καθολε δε φησιν εκεινος της συμπασης Ασιανης περοσχημα ειναι την Βακτριανην· κ δη κ μεχρι Σηρων, κ Φαυνων εξετεινεν την αρχην." Strabo. Lib. 11.--786.

therefore alludes to the boundaries of Bactria extended by its kings, who had united to it Aria, and part of India.

Perhaps however, the Latin hiſtorian may be in ſome meaſure excuſed, by ſuppoſing with Monſieur Freret[f] that the Perſian word Bakter, from which in all probability Bactriana was derived, equally applied to all the country to the Eaſt of Perſia. The learned academician is ſupported by Herbelot in the following terms. "From this word comes the name of the province, which we call Khoraſan, and to which the Ancients gave the name of Bactriana from its being ſituated to the Eaſt of Perſia."[g] Khoraſan implies alſo like Bakter the *Eaſt, or literally* the place where the ſun riſes, agreeable to Abulfeda[h] and the Turkiſh geographer, who is much indebted to the Arabian prince for information. Theſe writers allow a great ſpace to the Khoraſan, which comprehends not only the ancient Bactriana, but alſo Sogdiana, Margiana, Parthia and Aria.[i] In the ſummary deſcription, that

[f] Obſervations ſur la Cyroped. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 4.--607.

[g] "De ce mot vient le nom de la province que les Anciens ont appellee Bactriane a cauſe qu'elle eſt ſituee a l'Orient de la Perſe, nous l'appellons aujourdhui le Khoraſſan." Bib. Orient. 164.

[h] "Porro Khoraſſam ſolis locus interpretatur, nam Kor ſolem, et Aſam locum denotat." Abulfeda. ex Vers. cit. Geograph. Turc. 670.

[i] "Khoraſſam plurimas plagas complectitur. Aſſerunt Caldæi Khoraſſam protenſam eſſe a Rai uſque ad ortum ſolis. Alii autem exiſtimant eam a monte Halwam ad locum nomine *ortum* ſolis patere.————Limites vero ejus hi ſunt, nempe ad Occidentem Khoraſſam *deſerto*, quod eam inter et mediam et Girgian interjectum eſt, ad Auſtrum pariter deſerto, quod eam a Perſide et Kumas

that Alfragan ſketched of the different climates of the world, this aſtronomer includes in the Khoraſan even Balk and Samarcand, which agree in ſituation with Baƈtria and Marcanda, the ancient capitals of Baƈtriana and Sogdiana in the province of Khoraſan.[k] Yet the city of Balk muſt not be confounded with the country of that name, which is a ſingle and ſeparate canton, governed by a particular Khan of its own, who hath always preſerved his independence, even in the midſt of powerful neighbours, and hath choſen the city of Balk for his reſidence.[l]

The Oriental geographers ſupply us with uſeful explanations of ſome parts of ancient geography, and are principally of ſervice reſpecting the real ſituation of places, and their modern as well as ancient names. Yet the teſtimony of the more ancient writers as to the limits of the different countries, can only be weakened by the contrary evidence of ſome cotemporary author. Admitting even that the Oriental writers have not properly diſtinguiſhed the canton of Balk from the reſt of the Khoraſan, even the whole of this extenſive province might not be able to give us the true limits of the ancient Baƈtriana, which, according to Ptolemy,[m] on the Weſt had

mas ſejungit, ad Orientem autem Segeſtam et India, ad ſeptentrionem denique terminatur plagis Mawarannahr, ſeu quæ ſunt ultra flumen Oxum, et aliquâ etiam parte Turchiſtam-Khoraſſam. Itaque continet multas provincias, quarum una quæ integram regionem adæquat." Abulfeda. ex Verſione cit.

[k] Alferg. Elem. Aſtron. C. 9. Clim. 4, 5. Golii Not. 166.

[l] Voyage d'Otter. Tom. 1.--240.

[m] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 10. Lib. 6. C. 11.

had Margiana; and ſhould have included the Oxus, and Sogdiana on the North; a part of it as well as the Saces on the Weſt; and the Paropamiſus and a part of Aſia to the South. We learn from Q. Curtius[n] that the Tanais, which was the Iaxartes, ſeparates the Bactrians from the Scythians, and by this means he confounds Bactriana with Sogdiana. Even the deſcriptions of the manners and modes of life of the inhabitants, which Alexander's hiſtorians have left us, prove theſe people to have been very different.

Bactra, called ſometimes Zariaſpe, is placed by Q. Curtius under the mountains of Paropamiſus,[o] though it was in fact at ſome diſtance from them. The reſemblance of the ancient ſituation of this town with the actual poſition of Balk, Balch, or Balck agreeable to ſome manuſcripts, demonſtrates almoſt to a certainty this error of the Latin hiſtorian. According to Achmet[p] in his twenty-ſecond climate, cited by Abulfeda, Balk is ſituated in the middle of the Khoraſan, and if any credit is due to Ibn-Haukal, it is built upon a flat ſurface in a plain, about four leagues from a mountain,

[n] "Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis, quos Europæos vocant dividit." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 7. Tom. 2.--531.

[o] "Ipſa Bactra, regionis ejus caput, ſita ſunt ſub monte Paropamiſſo." Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 4. Tom. 2.--510.

[p] "Ex Acmeto ſapiente———Balk in medio Khoraſſam ſitam eſſe traditur———Ex Ibn-Haukal Balk———ea in ſolo æquabile ſita eſt, itaque a monte illi proximo quatuor paras diſſita." (Abulfeda ex Verſione cit. Geograph. Turc. 698.) This city is ſuppoſed to be eight leagues, the Baron de St. Croix obſerves, from the Dgeihoun or Oxus, according to Sherefeddin. Hiſt. de Timur. Lib. 1. C. 2.

mountain, which may have occaſioned the miſtake of Q. Curtius, and might be taken for a part of the Paropamiſus. The ſituation of Balk on the river Dahas, which bathes its walls, aſcertains the identity of this city with the Zariaſpe or Bactra of the Ancients, and the learned Golius [q] produces many other corroborating proofs of it, in his obſervations upon Alfragan.

When the Macedonian army returned out of India by Gedroſia, Alexander directed Craterus to conduct a body of troops into the interior part of Ariana, [r] and to reduce it. But is this country underſtood to be the ſame with the Aria to the South of Hyrcania and Margiana, and to the North of the Dranges and a part of Media? Strabo clears away the difficulty, and diſſipates the obſcurity, which has been ſpread over this ſubject in Alexander's marches. Whilſt this judicious geographer allows only to Aria itſelf a length of two thouſand ſtadia, and reckons its breadth at three hundred, [s] he extends the limits of Ariana, from the frontiers of Bactriana and Sogdiana, as far as Media and Perſia, and he includes in them Arachoſia, Carmania, and the whole country to the Indus. [t] Dionyſius the geographer hath allotted to Ariana an extent almoſt as conſiderable, and he compriſes all the people near Paropamiſus,

[q] Golius. Notes on Alfragan. 175, 176, 177.

[r] Strabo. Lib. 15.--1055.

[s] "Μηκος δε της Αριης ὁσον διαχιλιοι σταδιοι, πλατος δε τριακοσιοι τα πλειω." Strabo. Lib. 11.--785.

[t] Strabo. Lib. 2.--131.

as well as the Arbians, Orites, and the inhabitants on the ſhores of the Erythrean ſea, under the general name of Arianians,[w] a term which was at firſt uſed to diſtinguiſh them from the Arians, with whom they were afterwards confounded.

It ſeems probable that the term Aria was derived from the Calmuck or Mungal word Are, which ſignifies a man, and ſtill ſubſiſts in Herah, Herat and Heri, the Aria of the Ancients;[x] or it may be deduced from Eri or Ære, which has the ſame ſignification with the Tartars. The Arians were diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and their police, as may be inferred from Strabo,[y] who compares them with the Indians, the Romans and the Carthaginians, and would willingly withdraw them from the diſgraceful denomination of Barbarians. The Arians, had their name from Are or Ære, "men,"

[w] "Η τοι μεν δυνοντος επι κλισιν η ελιοιο,
Ωριτας τ', Αριβας τε, λινοχλαινους τ' Αραχωτας,
Σατραιδας θ', ὁσσους τε παρα πτυχι Παρπανισοιο
Ξυνη ὁμως μαλα παντας επωνυμιην Αριηνους."

Dionys. Perieg. V. 1095——1098.

Moſes of Chorene, according to the Baron de St. Croix, hath confounded the limits of Ariana, with thoſe of the ancient kingdom of Bactriana, and ſuppoſed Aria to comprehend the whole country between the Caſpian ſea and the Indies, including twenty-ſix provinces, amongſt which were Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, &c. &c. "Aria ſive Chaſti-Choraſania Mediæ ac Perſiæ finitima eſt, atque ad Indiam pertinet, Hyrcanumque mare attingit. Hæ autem provinciæ numerantur, Comſia, Hyrcania, &c. &c. &c." Mos. Chor. Geograph. ad Calcem. Hiſt. Armen. 365. Ed. Whiſton.

[x] Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. 448.

[y] "Και των Βαρβαρων αςειους, καθαπερ Ινδους ϗ Αρειανους· ετι δε Ρωμαιους ϗ Καρχηδονιους, ὑτω θαυμαςως πολιτευομενους." Strabo. Lib. 1.--116.

"men," to mark their decided ſuperiority over the neighbouring nations, like the people of Paropamiſus and the Mardes,[z] whoſe rude and ſavage life was but little removed from that of the common tribe of animals.

The ancient Medes had the name of Arians, according to Herodotus,[a] but it ſeems that they were not the Arians, of whom the Greek hiſtorian ſpeaks in his diviſion of the Satrapies.[b] The latter nation, which had a great affinity in language and manners with the Aſſyrians, was formerly very powerful. Moſt probably all the countries that formed their empire, were known under the general term of Ariana,[c] perhaps alſo Aria, and many other countries being conquered by the Perſians, might be united in the ſame Satrapy under the name of Ariana, and from this circumſtance Hellanicus may have ſuppoſed it to have been a province of Perſia.[d] Stephanus Byzantinus, after having related the paſſage of this ancient hiſtorian, appears to be deſirous of diſtinguiſhing Aria from Ariana, which was only an extenſion of it, and of mak-

[z] "Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos ſeque ac conjuges et liberos condunt: pecorum, aut ferarum carne veſcuntur. Ne feminis quidem pro naturæ habitu molliora ingenia ſunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 6. Tom. 1.--354.

[a] "Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι." Herodot. Lib. 7.--539.

[b] "Ἄριοι." Herodotus. Lib. 3.--245.

[c] See Cellarii Geograph. Antiq. Tom. 2.--515, 516.—Geograph. Ancienne de Monſieur d'Anville. Tom. 2.--285. &c. &c.—Voſſius ad P. Melam. Lib. 1. C. 2.

[d] Apud Steph. Byzant. Ἀρία.

ing theſe countries inhabited by different people. Copying Apollodorus, he ſtyles "Ariana a nation bordering on the Caduſeans,"[e] and Pomponius Mela adopts this erroneous ſuppoſition.[f] Pliny[g] is equally incorrect in placing Aria to the Weſt of Parthia, and the Arianians and Carmania to the South. Julius Solinus[h] hath united the Arians and Arianians, and places them to the Eaſt of the Parthians, which may ſerve to correct the text of Pliny,[i] whoſe errors have been to all appearance increaſed by the ignorance of his tranſcribers.

Of the PAROPAMISUS.

Conſidering the Paropamiſus as one part of the great chain of mountains, which, riſing on the ſides of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia,

e "Αριανια, εθνος παροικες τοις Καδουσιοις· Απολλοδωρος δευτερω." Steph. Byzant. Αριανια.

f "Uſque ad Caſpium ſinus poſſident. Indis proxima eſt Ariane deinde Aria." P. Melam. Lib. 1. C. 2.--19, 20.

g "Habet ab ortu Arios, a meridie Carmaniam et Arianos." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 25. Tom. 1.--709.

h "Ab ortu Arios Arianoſque, Carmaniam a medio die." Julius Solinus. C. 59.

i By which, the Baron de St. Croix would read "Habet ab ortu Arios et Arianos, a meridie Carmaniam."

Cilicia,[k] ſtretch acroſs Aſia from Weſt to Eaſt, and after receiving the different names of Taurus, Paropamiſus, Imaus and Edmodus, terminate at the ſea that waſhes China, we may diſcover a near reſemblance with the Caucaſus of Scythia, which is itſelf only a part of another chain of mountains, running from the Pontus Euxinus to the ſea of Tartary. Theſe two great tracts of mountainous country are connected by intermediate chains, in a direction from South to North, and are in fact only links of thoſe, which connect the North and South of Aſia.

Diodorus Siculus[l] diſtinguiſhes exactly theſe two chains of mountains, but like the other ancient authors, he has not turned his thoughts towards the communication that unites them, and is to appearance the frame that ſupports all Aſia. Arrian[m] and Q. Curtius[n] have ſimply advanced, that the Caucaſus and Taurus made a part of the ridge of mountains, which croſs that immenſe Continent. The term of Taurus is derived from a Chaldæan word, ſignifying

[k] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 5.--349.

[l] "Απο τοινυν τε κατα Κιλικιαν Ταυρε συνεχες ορος δι ὁλης της Ασιας διηκει, μεχρι τε Καυκασε κ) τε προς ανατολας ωκεανε· τετο δε παντοδαποις ανασημασι λοφων διειλημμενον, ιδιας καθ'εκαςον εχει προσηγοριας· τετον δε τον τροπον εις δυο μερη διαιρεμενης της Ασιας, το μεν προς τας Αρκτες αυτης νενευκε, το δε προς την μεσημβριαν" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 18. Tom. 2.--260.

[m] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 5.--349.

[n] "Caucaſum montem, cujus dorſum Aſiam perpetuo jugo dividit.——————Taurus fecundæ magnitudinis mons committitur Caucaſo, &c." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--500, 501.

ſignifying a mountain,[o] and Eratoſthenes as well as Arrian have applied it alſo to the ſecond chain of mountains,[p] though they regularly change their appellation in the different countries.—— Caucaſus is an alteration of Groucaſum, which in the ancient Scythian language expreſſed a place covered with ſnow,[q] and the Barbarians called the mountains to the North of India, Imaus, which has the ſame import.[r]—The name of Muſtag or mountain of ice, by which the Tartars[s] diſtinguiſhed the Paropamiſus, furniſhes a ſignification nearly ſimilar. The Perſians indeed ſtill call a part of the ſame mountains Koh-Kafer,[t] "impious" "treacherous mountain," more literally Koh-Kaf, "frothy mountain," in alluſion to the ſnow, which generally covers it; or according to Bayer, Khoo-Kafer, "the loſs of men," from its rigorous climate; but it is ſometimes only called Kaf, which is employed by the Arabs to deſcribe many mountains, but in particular thoſe of Paropamiſus.

[o] Hiſtoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens. 207. Which contains much valuable information.

[p] Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 3.--552.

[q] "Et Caucaſum montem, Groucaſum, hoc eſt nive candidum." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--678.

[r] "Terme qui Pline rend par celui de nivoſum." I have varied the expreſſion, for Pliny has not applied the epithet "nivoſum" to the Imaus, though he frequently mentions theſe mountains.

[s] And alſo Imuſſahr, for Mus or Maus ſignifies with them Ice, to which they prefix, in the pronunciation, the vowel I, but Tag denotes mountains: thus the whole word ſignifies Icy or Snowy Mountains, whence the corrupt word Imaus takes its origin. Strahlenberg's Geograph. Deſcript. of the North and Eaſtern Part of Europe and Aſia. 416.

[t] Bayer de Regn. Bact. 8.

ropamiſus.[w]—It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the companions of Alexander's arms were ſtruck with the analogy of ſounds, and catching with pleaſure at the reſemblance of the etymology of the name, which diſtinguiſhed the real Caucaſus and that of the Paropamiſus, made no ſcruple of calling both theſe mountains equally Caucaſus. Their own vanity and the flattery of their Sovereign might alſo have ſome influence with them, in the application.—— Some ſuch apology might have excuſed the Macedonians, if they had ſatisfied themſelves with only the adoption of the name, but they have confounded theſe two mountains, and have attributed to one, the characteriſtic circumſtance, which alone ought to have diſtinguiſhed the other. Like another Philoctetes, they have imagined they diſcovered in the Paropamiſus the cave in which Prometheus was faſtened, and from which he was at laſt delivered by Hercules. Arrian, with his uſual good ſenſe, ſtates theſe reveries as fabulous,[x] though Diodorus Siculus adopts them with credulous ſimplicity, and relates that in the middle of Caucaſus, called Paropamiſus by ſome, the natives ſtill ſhew a rock of ten ſtadia in circumference and of four in height, where the eagle's neſt and the

[w] Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. "Thus likewiſe the denomination of Caucaſus, called by others Caf, Caph or Caco: Caho and Cobo ſignifies, in the Perſian, no more than mountains in general." Strahlenberg's Geographical Deſcription of the North and Eaſtern Part of Europe and Aſia. 416. See alſo Reland. Differt. 8. De Vet. Ling. Pers. 155.

[x] "Και γαρ ἡ σπηλαιον λεγει ἰδοντας εν Παραπαμισαδαις τους Μακεδονας, ἡ τινα μυθον επιχωριον ακουσαντας, ἡ αυτους ξυνθεντας, φημισαι ὁτι τουτο αρα ην το Προμηθεως το αντρον, ἱνα εδεδετο· ἡ ὁ αετος ὁτι εκειστε εφοιτα, δαισομενος των σπλαγχνων τω Προμηθεως." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 3.—343, 344.

the marks of the fetters of the daring adventurer were yet an object of curiosity.[y] These fables, which can only refer to the real Caucasus, have been copied by Q. Curtius,[z] who draws from them very strange consequences. The Latin historian after having spoken of the fatigues, that the Macedonian Monarch's army experienced in its passage across the Paropamisus, which, according to his ideas, was to the West joining Bactria, with the Indian ocean to the South,[a] adds, that after the Prince's troops had recovered their march,[b] "he moved towards mount Caucasus, which with its long ridge of hills stretches itself through Asia, having on one side of it the Cilician sea, and on the other the Caspian sea, the river Araxes, and deserts of Scythia. Mount Taurus, which holds the second rank for bigness, joins to mount Caucasus: it takes its rise from Cappadocia, and running across Cilicia joins itself to the mountains of Armenia, so that all these mountains being united, form one continued

y "Κατα δε μεσον τον Καυκασον εςι πετρα δεκα ςαδιων εχȣσα την περιμετρον, τετταρων δε ςαδιων το ὑπσος, εν ἡ ϗ το Προμηθεως σπηλαιον εδεικνυθ' ὑπο των εγχωριων, ϗ ἡ τȣ μυθολογηθεντος αετȣ κοιτη, ϗ τα των δεσμων σημεια." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--224.

z Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3.--493——501.

a "Bactrianis ad Occidentem conjuncti sunt: Meridiana regio ad mare Indicum vergit." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--493, 494.

b "Inde agmen processit ad Caucasum montem, cujus dorsum Asiam perpetuo jugit dividit: hinc simul mare, quod Ciliciam subit; illinc Caspium fretum, et amnem Araxem, aliaque regionis Scythiæ deserta spectat. Taurus secundæ magnitudinis mons committitur Caucaso, a Cappadociâ se adtollens Ciliciam præterit, Armeniæque montibus jungitur. Sic inter se tot juga velut serie cohærentia perpetuum habent dorsum, ex quo Asiæ omnia fere flumina, alia in rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanum et Ponticum decidunt. XVII. dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--500, 501.

tinued ridge, out of which almoſt all the rivers of Aſia flow, ſome emptying themſelves into the Red ſea, others diſcharging themſelves into the Caſpian ſea, while others again fall into the Hyrcanian and Pontick ſea. The army paſſed over mount Caucaſus in ſeventeen days."[c] It would be difficult to find either an ancient or modern hiſtorian, who has to anſwer for ſo many errors in ſuch a ſhort compaſs.——Q. Curtius undoubtedly intended to ſpeak of the real Caucaſus, ſince he joins it to the Taurus, and places the Caſpian ſea on the left: this however is the leaſt of his miſtakes. After a deſcription of Alexander's march in the country of Paropamiſus, he ſuppoſes this Prince to reach Caucaſus, which muſt in conſequence be ſituated between Paropamiſus and the Indian ocean. But is this ſituation to be reconciled with the account, which he gives afterwards of this mountain? The Caucaſus, he tells us, hath on one ſide the Caſpian ſea, the Araxes and Scythia, and on the other, the ſea which bathes the coaſt of Cilicia, placed under the ſame parallel with the Caſpian ſea, and by theſe means the whole of Aſia Minor with the Pontus Euxinus is thrown too far Northward. Q. Curtius hath given alſo a Latitude too far Southward to the Caſpian ſea, and brings it within ſeven degrees of the Equator. If we admit the ideas, which the Ancients entertained of the Longitude of the Caſpian ſea, to have been juſt and accurate, it then becomes parallel to that of Cilicia and Aſia Minor.—Theſe influences are fairly deducible from the text of Q. Curtius, who is accuſtomed very frequently to contradict himſelf, and may even

[c] Digby's Q. Curtius. Book. 7. Chap. 3. Vol. 2.--18.

be believed to have imagined the Caucaſus to run from North to South.—Arachoſia, likewiſe, is placed to the Weſt of Caucaſus, and near the Pontus Euxinus, and conſequently we muſt not be ſurpriſed to meet with its inhabitants near the Euxine ſea.[d]—To complete the confuſion and obſcurity, the Latin hiſtorian appears to diſtinguiſh the Hyrcanian ſea from the Caſpian ſea.

Q. Curtius mentions the climate of Paropamiſus in the following terms.[e] "The ſnows are here ſo deep, and ſo congealed with the froſt, that no footſteps or traces of beaſt or bird appear in all the country. The light is ſo obſcure, that it may be compared to the dimneſs of the night, ſo that thoſe things that are neareſt at hand are hardly diſcernable."[f]—This is moſt certainly an overcharged deſcription, which may be conſidered as a commentary on Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, when he ſpeaks of this country, that it was ſituated under the Pole.[g] Q. Curtius therefore tranſports into it

[d] "Arachoſios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--492.

[e] "Adeo altæ nives premunt terram, gelu et perpetuo pene rigore conſtrictæ, ut ne avium quidem, feræve ullius veſtigium exſtet. Obſcura cœli verius umbra, quam lux, noctis ſimilis premit terram: vix ut quæ prope ſunt conſpici poſſint." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 3. Tom. 2.--498.

[f] Digby's Q. Curtius. Book 7. Chap. 3. Vol. 2.--17.

[g] "Ἡ δε τετων χωρα κειται μεν ὑπ' αυτας τας Αρκτους, χιονοβολειται δε πασα,——ἁπασα δ' ἡ της χωρας φυσις ωτε χλωραν εδ' ἡμερον εχει προσοψιν, αλλα λευκην κ) ανταυγη την χιονα κ) τον εν αυτη πεπηγυμενον κρυσταλλον· διοπερ, ωτ' ορνεα προσκαθιζοντα, ωτε θηρια διοδευοντα, αξενα κ) ανεπιβατα παντα τα μερη της χωρας ὑπηρχεν." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 7. Tom. 2.--223.) Churchill's Muſe, in an irritated

it the inhabitants of Paropamiſus, or rather appears to be wholly ignorant, that the nearer we approach to the Equator, the nearer we find day and night to be equal to each other. But it is an exceſs of abſurdity to imagine that a country, only ten degrees from the Tropic of Cancer, ſhould in the winter be plunged into one continued night.

Monſieur Bonami takes notice of the expreſſions of Diodorus Siculus, and Q. Curtius, and then obſerves, "that notwithſtanding this frightful country is ſituated towards the thirty-fifth degree of Northern Latitude, in a climate where the heat is more ſenſible than cold, they have not only tranſported thither mount Caucaſus and the Tanais, but alſo froſts and ice."[h] To this objection, however

irritated moment, ſeems to have painted, in ſimilar and exaggerated colours, a part of GREAT BRITAIN, which, from Party principles, had been the invidious object of his reſentment.

"Far as the eye could reach, no tree was ſeen,
Earth, clad in ruſſet, ſcorn'd the lively green.
The plague of locuſts they ſecure defy,
For in three hours a graſshopper muſt die.
No living thing, whate'er its food, feaſts there,
But the Chamelion, who can feaſt on air,
No birds, except as Birds of Paſſage, flew,
No bee was known to hum, no dove to coo,
No ſtreams as amber ſmooth, as amber clear
Were ſeen to glide, or heard to warble here."

Prophecy of Famine. Churchill's Poems. Vol. 1.--10. 8vo 1766.

[h] "Cependant ce pays ſi affreux eſt ſituée vers le 35 degré de Latitude ſeptentrionale, c'eſt à dire, dans un climat où la chaleur ſe fait plus ſentir que le froid.——————en y tranſportant le mont Caucaſe et le Tanais, ils y ont tranſporté les glaces et les frimats." Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions. Tom. 25.--22.

however, it may be anſwered that the hoar of a winter's froſt is ſometimes to be met with upon mountains in the Southern regions, the *Pike* of Teneriffe, which is ſeven degrees South of Paropamiſus being covered with ſnow, and inacceſſible even in the months of July and Auguſt.[i] The intenſe cold, ariſing from continual falls of ſnow, is likewiſe ſo very ſevere on the Cordilleras and Andes, in the Audience of Quito, near the Equator, that theſe mountains are not only uninhabitable, but neither plants nor animals are to be found upon them.[k] The climate of Paropamiſus produces alſo examples of the common phænomenon ariſing from the rarefaction of the air. *Father Deſideri, who traverſed in 1715 the mountains* of Cachemir, which are a part of the ancient Paropamiſus, and lie nearly in the ſame Latitude with the route of Alexander's army, expreſſes himſelf as follows. "The ſummit of the higheſt mountains is always covered with ſnow and ice.—I ſay nothing of the extreme cold, which I had to ſuffer.——Theſe mountains are a true image of deſolation, horror and even death."[l] Bernier's deſcription,

[i] Hiſtoire general de Voyages. Tom. 6.--189——220. Ed. 12. The Baron de St. Croix was perfectly correct in his expreſſion, for the difficulties were ſuppoſed to include an impoſſibility of ſucceeding in the attempt. Lieutenant Rye, with wonderful perſeverance, and not without ſome danger, hath ſince ſcaled this tremendous mountain in the month of April. See his Account of the Pike of Teneriffe. 4to 1793.

[k] Voyage de l'Amerique par D. G. Juan et D. Ulloa. Tom. 1.--351.

[l] "Le ſommet des plus hautes montagnes eſt toujours couvert de neige et de glace.———Je ne parle point du froid extrême qui j'ai eu à ſouffrir———Ces montagnes ſont une vraie image de la triſtreſſe, de l'horreur, de la mort même." (Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuſes. Rec. 15.--185——193.) Much curious information may be extracted from this voluminous collection, but ſome attention will be requiſite to ſeparate the droſs, and the "Eſprit du corps" cannot be too much guarded againſt.

ſcription,[m] who had paſſed through the ſame country fifty years before, is ſubſtantially the ſame, and this celebrated traveller adds, that on the mountain of Pir-Penjal, the changes in the atmoſphere were very violent and ſudden, and that in leſs than an hour there was a tranſition from ſummer to winter.

Without waſting any time on the etymologies of the name of theſe mountains, which ſeem to confirm the relation of Alexander's hiſtorians, ſome of the circumſtances of Tamerlane's march towards mount Ketuer, beween Badaſchan and Cachemir, may be entered into with propriety. "Notwithſtanding the ſeaſon (the ſun was then in Gemini) there was ſuch a quantity of ſnow upon this mountain, that moſt of the horſes, that attempted to aſcend, could not keep their feet and fell. Some, however, after the froſt in the night, which was ſevere, made ſome little progreſs, and when the ſun aroſe, they were ſtopped, and covered with clothes, as it became impoſſible to proceed from the glaſſy ice. With great difficulty and great fatigue, the ſummit of the mountain was at laſt gained, and the place reached where the Siapouſch reſided."[n] The country inhabited by this band of robbers

[m] Voyages de Bernier. Tom. 2. 270. "Nous entrames dans les montagnes, pour voir un grand lac ou il a de la glace, dont les vents font et defont des monceaux comme une petite mer glaciale." Voyage de Kachem. Tom. 2.--302.

[n] "Malgre la ſaiſon, (le ſoleil etoit alors dans les Gemaux) on trouva ſur cette montague une ſi grande quantité de neige, que les pieds de la plupart des chevaux qu' on voulut y faire monter, tomberent; quelque-uns cependant, à la faveur de la geleé, qui etoit tres fort pendant la nuit, ne laiſſerent pas d' avancer, et lorſque le ſoleil paroiſſoit, on s' arretoit et on couvroit de feutre les chevaux, parceque il etoit impoſſible de marcher, tout etant remple de verglas. On parvint ainſi, apres

bers was little more than three degrees to the North of Cachemir, and its mountains formed part of the chain, which ſtretched acroſs the centre of Aſia. From this body of evidence we may conclude, that the hiſtorians of Alexander's actions have not impoſed upon us, when they ſpoke of the cold, which the Prince's troops ſuffered in the Paropamiſus, though theſe mountains are in ſuch a Southerly part of the world. Strabo,* who was not prejudiced in favour of theſe hiſtorians, expreſsly mentions the rigorous ſeverity of the climate, and Q. Curtius is only reprehenſible, when he ſtates the length of the nights in this country, where the ſhorteſt day in the whole year conſiſts of ten hours and a half.

The mountains, which cover the North of India have many paſſages, and that of Candahar is one, which is moſt travelled, eſpecially by the caravans of Agra and Iſpahan. The Macedonian army took the direct route from Bactra to Paropamiſus, and there cannot be a doubt that Alexander entered India by this paſſage. Strabo is the writer of antiquity, that hath beſt illuſtrated the diſtreſſing march of the Macedonian army over theſe mountains. It was the ſecond time that Alexander had conducted his troops into the country: the firſt was when he purſued the aſſaſſins of Darius.—"He came," ſays the judicious geographer, "by Aria-

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pres beaucoup de fatigues, juſqu' au ſommet de la montagne, où etoient les Siapouſch." Hiſt. des Huns, par Monſieur de Guignes. Tom. 5.--42.) Sherefeddin hath given, the Baron de St. Croix remarks, a ſimilar detail of this march. Hiſt. de Timur. Voc. Lib. 6. C. 3.

* Strabo. Lib. 15.

na into the borders of India, and leaving it on the right, and Paropamiſus to the North, he paſſed into Bactriana. Having reduced under his ſubjection all the territories under the Perſian dominion, and many other countries, he directed his march towards India, of which many things had been ſaid, though without any certainty. In his return he took the ſhorteſt route over the ſame mountains, leaving India to the left. He then came back again and paſſed its Weſtern borders, croſſing the rivers Cophes and Choaſpes." [p]

Of INDIA.

The immenſe regions of India have been divided by the ancient geographers into Occidental India, which they call Send, and Oriental India, termed Hend, [q] inhabited by a people, whoſe religion, manners and police, give them the ſtrongeſt pretenſions to antiquity. This rich and fertile country bears the name of Sindou [r] and of Zomboudipo

p "Ηκε μεν ουν της Ινδικης πλησιον δι' Αριανων· αφεις δ' αυτην εν δεξια, υπερεβη τον Παροπαμισον εις τα προσαρκτια μερη, και την Βακτριανην· καταρρεψαμενω δε ταχει παντα οσα ην υπο Περσαις, και ετι πλειω, τοτ' ηδη και της Ινδικης ωρεχθη· λεγοντων μεν περι αυτης πολλων, ουδεν σαφως δε· Ανερρεψε δ' ουν, υπερβας ταυτα ορη, κατ' αλλας οδους επιτομωτερας, εν αριστερα εχων την Ινδικην, ειτ' επερρεψεν ευθυς επ' αυτην, και τους ορους τους ισπερους αυτης, και τον Κωφην ποταμον και τον Χοασπην." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

q Abulf. Climat. Al-Hend-Al-Send. Rec. de Voyages par Thevenot. Tom. 1.

r Bagavadam. Lib. 4.--91.

Zomboudipo[s] in their early records, which are written in the Sanſcreet language, but it muſt be acknowledged that it was little known by the reſt of the univerſe before the days of Alexander. The relations of Cteſias and the crude and imperfect notions of Herodotus can afford only a ſmall portion of ſatisfaction to any rational mind, and little confidence can be repoſed on any information that may be gathered from them. The latter hiſtorian aſſures us, that Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes penetrated the fartheſt into the Eaſt of all the Perſian kings, but he cannot avoid acknowledging, that the Indians at a diſtance and to the South were never ſubject to the Perſian power.[t] Strabo pretends, that Cyrus in his expedition againſt the Maſſagetes ought to be conſidered as the only one that approached this country, from which the Perſians were ſatisfied with drawing ſome auxiliaries, in general furniſhed by the Hydrachians. We learn alſo from the Greek geographer, that even the Perſians had not any knowledge of India, which had been enveloped in the darkeſt obſcurity till Alexander's conqueſts.[w] Megaſthenes, who was well verſed in Indian antiquities, from his long reſidence with Porus and Sandracotta, is of opinion,[x] that no

[s] Ezour-vedam. Lib. 1. C. 3.

[t] "Ουτοι μεν των Ινδων ἑκαστερω των Περσεων οικεουσι, καὶ προς νοτου ανεμου· καὶ Δαρειου βασιληος ουδαμα ὑπηκουσαν." (Herod. Lib. 3.--248.) The Baron de St Croix ſuppoſes Herodotus to have been only acquainted with the Indians near Bactria, and the people of Carmania and Gedroſia, with a few other nations.

[w] "Αλεξανδρος γαρ ὁ μαλιστα τουτ' ανακαλυψας." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

[x] "Συναποφαινεται δε πως καὶ Μεγασθενης τω λογω τουτω, κελευων απιστειν ταις αρχαιαις περι Ινδων ἱστοριαις·

no foreign army, thoſe of Bacchus and Hercules excepted, had ever reached this country before this period, and the Indians confirmed by their own evidence, according to Maximus Tyrius,[y] the Greek traveller's relation.—Alexander removed the veil, with which this part of the world had been till his time covered: Seleucus, one of his ſucceſſors, puſhed ſtill farther his diſcoveries and arrived at the Ganges.[z] It was reſerved for later ages to acquire more extended notions of this part of the globe, but they are ſtill more limited and imperfect than they might be wiſhed to be. Our moſt authentic accounts are thoſe, which relate to the countries, that have been ravaged by fire and ſword, and deluged from avarice with ſeas of blood. Yet the religion of the mild and inoffenſive natives condemns to exceſſive tortures in another world the ſavage mortal that hath audaciouſly attempted the life of any of his brethren,[a] and it hath been their misfortune to inhabit a coun-

ακις· ὅτε γαρ παρ' Ινδων ἐξω ϛαληναι ποτε ϛρατιαν, ὅτ' επελθειν εξωθεν ϗ κρατησαι, πλην την μεθ' Ηρακλεους, ϗ Διονυσου, ϗ της νυν μετα Μακεδονων." (Strabo. Lib. 15.--1007.) "Ουτω ων ὁ Μεγασθενης λεγει, ὅτε Ινδους επιϛρατευσαι ϑαυμασιοις ανθρωποισιν, ὅτε Ινδοισιν αλλους ανθρωπους." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 5.--558.

[y] "Αλεξανδρῳ δε εκεινῳ, Περσαις ἑλων, ϗ Βαβυλωνῳ γην, ἀβατον ὑσαν τεως ϛρατια ξενη, ὡς Ινδοι ελεγον, πλην γε Διονυσου ϗ Αλεξανδρου." (Max. Tyrius. Diſſert. 38.--399. 8vo Cantab. 1703.) The Baron de St. Croix refers his readers, for this paſſage, to the 18th Diſſertation and 85th Page of this Edition.

[z] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 17. Tom. 1.--684.

[a] "Ceux qui les armes à la main auront tuè un autre homme, feront eux-memes broyès dans l' enfer (le Patalene c' eſt à dire l' Abyme) et on les fera paſſer par des trous auſſi petits que celui d' une aiguille." (Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 3. C. 3.) "Ceux, qui font mal aux hommes et qui tuent les betes, feront jetés dans un lieu particulier, pour y ſouffrir des torments horribles." Bagavadam. Lib. 6.--106.

try, in which nature hath been prodigal of her choiceſt gifts, only to expoſe it without ceaſing as a prey to other nations!

Strabo, though he acknowledges the advantages that the ſcience of geography has derived from the Macedonian conqueſts, very juſtly cenſures the multitude of abſurd ſtories in which the marvellous had uſurped the place of truth. "India," ſays he, "is at a very remote diſtance, and few of us have ſeen it. They who have viſited it, have ſeen only a ſmall part of it, and have deſcribed it principally from what they heard. The little they perſonally learnt was picked up in the hurry of their military expeditions, and yet they have publiſhed theſe accounts with the ſame confidence, as if they had examined the moſt authentic memorials with attention."[b] The Greek geographer accuſes alſo theſe writers with contradicting each other,[c] with exaggerating, and relating notorious falſities,[d] and he allows only Patroclus and Eratoſthenes to have compiled their works from documents, whoſe fidelity was not to be ſuſpected. A voluminous maſs of fables might eaſily be collected from Oneſicritus, Clitarchus, Megaſthenes and Daimachus, and the two latter authors, in Strabo's opinion, deſerve no ſort of credit.

[b] "Και γαρ απωτατω εϛι· ϗ ϑ πολλοι των ἡμετερων κατωπτευσαν αυτην. οἱ δε ϗ ἰδοντες, μερη τινα ειδον· τα δε πλειω λεγουσιν εξ ακοης· ϗ ἁ ειδον δε, εν παροδω ϛρατιοτικη ϗ δρομω κατεμαθον· διοπερ ϑδε τα αυτα περι των αυτων εξαγγελλουσι· ϗ ταυτα συγγραψαντες, ὡς αν πεφροντισμενως εξητασμενα." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1006.

[c] "Αλλ' ἑκαϛ@· ἑκαϛω ταναντια λεγει πολλακις." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1006.

[d] "Οι περι της Ινδικης γραψαντες, ὡς επι το πολυ ψευδολογοι γεγονασι." Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.

dit.[e] "They have even told of men with immenſe ears,[f] without mouths and noſes, with only one eye, long diſtorted thighs, and the fingers and toes in a reverſed poſition. They have renewed Homer's fable of the pigmies three feet high, and their wars with the cranes, and accounts are alſo given of ants that dig up gold, ſatyrs with unnatural heads,[g] and ſerpents which ſwallow both deer and oxen with their horns."[h] The judicious geographer obſerves, that he had

[e] "Διαφερόντως δ' απιστειν αξιον Δημαχῳ τε καὶ Μεγασθενει· ὕτοι γαρ εισιν οἱ τους ενωτοκοιτας καὶ ἀστομους, καὶ ἀρρινας ἰσοφθντες, μονοφθαλμους τε, καὶ μακροσκελεις, καὶ οπισθοδακτυλους· ενεκαινισαν δε καὶ την Ὁμηρικην των Πυγμαιων γερανομαχιαν, τρισπιθαμους εἰποντες· Ὑυτοι δε καὶ τους χρυσωρυχους μυρμηκας, καὶ Πανας σφηνοκεφαλους, ὀφεις τε καὶ Ϛους καὶ ελαφους συν κερασι καταπινοντας." (Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.) The Baron de St. Croix obſerves that Cauſabon durſt not change the "ενεκαινισαν" into "ανακαινισαν," though he wiſhed to make the alteration, but that Monſieur de Brequigny meant to have reſtored the reading, on the authority of a manuſcript in the French king's library. There is not perhaps any Greek author, that hath ſtood in greater need of emendation than Strabo. A new edition of this Greek geographer has been long in the Clarendon Preſs, from the hands of a gentleman, (the late Thomas Falconer Eſq. of Cheſter) who was, in every reſpect, fully qualified for the learned and laborious office. His extenſive reading and erudition were only equalled by the virtues of the heart, and without any compliment whatever to his memory, his death was one of thoſe misfortunes, of which it may literally be ſaid "Fuit hoc luctuoſum ſuis, acerbum Patriæ, grave bonis omnibus." Cicero de Orat. Lib. 3. Sect. 2. Tom. 1.--281. 4to 1740.

[f] "Τους ενωτοκοιτας, ſleeping in their ears."

[g] "Σφηνοκεφαλους, with heads like wedges." I am deſirous of propoſing to ſome future editor of Strabo a trifling alteration in the Text, and of ſubſtituting "Κυνοκεφαλους" in the place of "Σφηνοκεφαλους." In many of the old manuſcripts, the firſt letters of words were frequently omitted for the purpoſe of being afterwards blazoned and illuminated, and a number of errors crept into the text by theſe means, from the ignorance of tranſcribers. The miſtake of the "ηη" for "υη," eſpecially when abbreviated, might eaſily be made, and the "Παν κυνοκεφαλ." will not be a very inaccurate deſcription of the dog-headed baboon, which was a native of that part of the world.

[h] Dr. Shaw, in treating of the great Boa, "Boa conſtrictor," (Linnæi Syſt. Nat. 373.) makes the following obſervations. "Qui vaſta et mirabilia naturæ opera nunquam "Αυτοψται" contemplati

had frequent occaſion to animadvert on theſe tales and fables, in the hiſtory of the life of Alexander, but the Prince's hiſtorians, having drawn their information from theſe ſources, could not help tranſmitting to us ſome of their abſurdities. Diodorus Siculus mentions ſerpents of twenty-four feet[1] in length, and trees of one hundred

plati ſunt, ii ſane quicquid varie de illis ſcripſerint peregrinatores, caute et dubitanter recipere ſolent; immo ſæpe utpote fabuloſum omnino rejiciunt. Inter hæc naturæ magnalia jure numerandi ſunt ſerpentes illi ingentes, qui in nonnullis Indiæ, Africæ, et Americæ regionibus inveniuntur; quique in tantam magnitudinem adoleſcunt ut quadrupedia etiam majora ingurgitare poſſint; et longitudine adeo ſunt enormi, ut ſæpe pedes viginti, viginti-quinque vel etiam triginta ſuperent. Horum temporis progreſſu multo rarior eſt conſpectus, illoſque probabile eſt regiones olim ſane deſertas, et nunc excultas, populoſque frequentes reliquiſſe, et in teſqua deſerta et remota exulaſſe. Spectantur tamen aliquando hortos et loca habitaculis ſuis propiora perreptantes." (Natur. Vivar. Faſcic. ſecund.) It is poſſible therefore ſerpents of this extraordinary magnitude might have then exiſted, and that theſe Grecian writers, mixing a little truth with much falſehood, may be ſuppoſed in the words of Strabo, "Λεγειν δ' αν τινα, καὶ ωιδαγα, καὶ μυημης αξια, ὡς τε καὶ απιςουντα μη ωαρ ελθειν αυτα." (Lib. 15.--1023.) A more ridiculous account of the ants may be found in the latter part of Strabo, (Lib. 15.--1032.) where Megaſthenes reports that they were "Θηριων αλωπεκων ουκ ελαττους," not leſs than foxes.

[1] "Ειχεν ἡ χωρα ωολλους καὶ ωαρηλλαγμενους τοις μεγεθεσιν οφεις, ονταις ἑκκαιδεκαπηχεις." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--230.) Diodorus Siculus moſt probably borrowed the idea from Clitarchus, for we learn from Ælian, "Κλειταρχος εν τη ωερι την Ινδικην φησι γινεσθαι οφιν ωηχων ἑκκαιδεκα." (Ælian. De Nat. Animal. Lib. 17. C. 1. Tom. 2.--918. 4to 1744.) but Valerius Maximus hath given us an inſtance of a ſerpent of ſtill more extraordinary dimenſions. "Quæ quia uſitatam rationem excedentia attigimus, ſerpentis quoque a T. Livio curioſe pariter, ac facunde relata fiat mentio. Is enim ait in Africâ apud Bagradam flumen, tantæ magnitudinis anguem fuiſſe, at Attilii Reguli exercitum uſu amnis prohiberet: multiſque militibus ingenti ore correptis, compluribus caudæ voluminibus eliſis, cum telorum jactu perforari nequiret, ad ultimum baliſtarum tormentis undique petitam, ſilicum crebris et ponderoſis verberibus procubuiſſe, omnibuſque et cohortibus et legionibus ipſâ Carthagine viſam terribiliorem. Atque etiam cruore ſuo gurgitibus imbutis, corporiſque jacentis peſtifero afflatu vicinâ regione pollutâ, Romana inde ſummoviſſe caſtra. Dicit etiam beluæ corium CXX pedum, in urbem miſſum." (Lib. 1. C. 8.--117. 4to L. B. 1726.) The Epitome of the eighteenth Book of Livy, which contained his account

of

dred and five feet in height, whoſe ſhade extended to the diſtance of no leſs than three plethra.[k] Arrian with a leſs portion of credulity, when he has occaſion to take notice of them, refutes their extravagance, and demonſtrates their abſurdity.[l]

The manners and cuſtoms of the Indians are not deſcribed with greater fidelity or truth. Q. Curtius aſſures us, that theſe people made

of this ſerpent, is only extant, but L. Florus, (Lib. 2. C. 2.--232. 8vo L. B. 1744.) Seneca, (Epiſt. 82.--338. 8vo Amſt. 1672.) and Aulus Gellius (Lib. 6. C. 3.--351. 4to L. B. 1706.) have taken notice of it, and Oroſius hath left the ſtory at full length. (Hiſt. Lib. 4. C. 8.--236. 4to L. B. 1767.) Pliny mentions this piece of hiſtory, and adds "Pellis ejus maxillæque uſque ad bellum Numantinum duravere Romæ in templo. Faciunt his fidem in Italiâ appellatæ Boæ: in tantam amplitudinem exeuntes, ut Divo Claudio principe, occiſæ in Vaticano ſolidus in alvo ſpectatus ſit infans." Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--153.

k "Δενδρων γαρ εισι γενη διαλλαττοντα, καὶ το μεν ὑψος εχοντα πηχων ἑβδομηκοντα, το δε παχος μογις ὑπο τετταρων ανδρων περιλαμβανομενα, τριων δε πλεθρων σκιαν ποιουντα." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--230.) This is undoubtedly a fabulous narrative, but a part of it may have been founded on ſubſtantial facts. Mr. Marſden gives the following deſcription of the Banyan tree, termed by the Portugueſe, Arbor de Raiis, and by the Malays, Iawee Iawee. "It poſſeſſes the uncommon property of dropping roots or fibres from certain parts of its boughs, which when they touch the earth, become new ſtems, and go on increaſing to ſuch an extent, that ſome have meaſured in circumference of the branches, upwards of a thouſand feet, and have been ſaid to ſhelter a troop of Horſe." In a note he adds, "The dimenſions of a remarkable Banyan or Burr tree near Manjee, twenty miles Weſt of Patna in Bengal. Diameter 363 to 375 feet. Circumference of ſhadow at noon, 1116 feet; circumference of the ſtems, in number fifty or ſixty, 921 feet." (Marſden's Hiſtory of Sumatra. 131.) This ſpecies of tree appears to be exactly deſcribed by the "Των καταχαμπτομενες εχοντων τας κλαδας, καὶ περι τα μεγεθη· ὡσθ' ὑφ' ἑνι δενδρω μεσημβριζειν σκιαζομενες ἱππεας πεντηκοντα" of Ariſtobulus. Strabo. Lib. 15.--1017.

l "Εγω ουτε ὁις τισι νομοις διαχρωνται εν τηδε τη ξυγγραφη ανεγραψα, ουτε ζωα ει δη τινα ατοπα ἡ χωρα αυτοις εκφερει.——ωδε τας μυρμηκας, τας τον χρυσον σφισιν εργαζομενες,——ωδε ὁτα αλλα ἐφ' ἡδονη μαλλον τι πεποιηται, ἡ ες αφηγησιν των ὀντων. ὡς ταχε κατ' Ινδους ὁσα αν ατοπα ψευσανται, ουκ εξελεγξομενα προς ανδρων." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 4.--346, 347.

made great uſe of wine in their entertainments, and that their kings in a ſtate of intoxication were carried by their concubines to their beds.[m] But from a conviction that ſuch exceſſes were equally prejudical to the phyſical conſtitution of the inhabitants, and fatal to the repoſe of ſociety, which often ſuffered on theſe inflammations of the ſanguinary paſſions, the legiſlators of the Southern regions of the world had wiſely prohibited the uſe of all intoxicating liquors,[n] and their laws and ordinances were rigorouſly obſerved by all the Indian nations. Strabo relates, that if even any of their kings was put to death in a debauch by his queen, as a recompence for the meritorious deed ſhe had the right of marrying his ſucceſſor.[o] The Brahmins abſtained from wine, and the Hylobian philoſophers,[p] the firſt and moſt illuſtrious order of the Samaneans were equally abſtemious. It was not even permitted to ſtop where wine was diſpoſed of, and a breach of the prohibition was attended with diſgrace.[q] We learn from Megaſthenes, that the Indians never drank any

m "Feminæ epulas parant, ab iiſdem vinum miniſtratur, cujus omnibus Indis largus eſt uſus. Regem mero ſomnoque ſopitum in cubiculum pellices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes Deos." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--632, 633.

n "At reges, et gentes Indiæ permittunt fornicationem, poculum autem inebrians interdicunt: præter regem Camar, qui tam fornicationem quam vinum interdicit." Geog. Nul. 32, 33.

o "Μεθυοντα δε κτεινασα γυνη βασιλεα, γεφας εχει συνειναι το εκεινου διαδεξαμενω." Strabo. Lib. 15. --1086.

p "Υλοβιας——αφροδισιων χωρις, και οινου." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1040. See alſo Clement. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 3.--451.

q "Cela etoit même honteux a un homme du peuple." The Baron de St. Croix *cites in* ſupport of the ſentence the "Επονειδιστον τω μαγειω" of Porphyrius. (De Abſtin. *Lib.* 4.--364. Ed. de

any wine except in religious duties,[r] and the Manicheans, who had adopted many Indian cuſtoms, conſidered it, according to St. Ephraim,[s] "as the gall of the prince of darkneſs."[t] Yet it muſt be allowed, Atheneus tells us, that Alexander propoſed at the death of Calanus prizes for thoſe, who drank the moſt, in compliment to the Indian paſſion for wine.[w] This writer extracted the anecdote out of the work of Chares, from whom it deſcended likewiſe to Ælian,[x] but Ælian hath added that this ſpecies of contention was an Indian cuſtom. Neither the authority however of Q. Curtius, nor that of Chares, can weaken or ſet aſide the evidence, that has been produced, which is confirmed by the relations of modern travellers. The immutability of the Eaſtern laws and uſages, which are exactly what thoſe of their parents were before them, is well known; and neither the lapſe of ages, the commerce with neighbouring nations, nor the invaſion of foreign armies

de Rhoer. 4to 1767.) The expreſſion may poſſibly bear this conſtruction, but the "ingenuis hominibus" of de Rhoer, is in decided oppoſition to it.

r "Οινον τε γας ε πινειν, αλλ' εν θυσιαις μονον." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1035.

s "Error Indicus Manetem tenuit." S. Ephr. ex Vers. Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. 1.--112.

t "Vinum putare fel principum tenebrarum." St. Auguſt. de Morib. Manich. Lib. 2. C. 44.

w "Δια την φιλοινιαν των Ινδων." Athenæus. Lib. 10.--437.

x "Χαριζομενω δε τοις Ινδοις, ϗ τι επιχωριον αυτων αγωνισμα εις τιμην τε Καλανε συγκατηριθμησε τοις αθλοις τοις προειρημενοις· Οινοπυσιας γαν αγωνιαν προεθηκε." Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 2. C. 41. Tom. 1.--172. 4to 1731.

armies have had any influence on them. They are at this day what they were in the moſt diſtant periods. Their averſion to all inebriating liquors ſtill continues, and the miſerable and ſlighted Caſt of the Parins [y] is the only one, that has been addicted to them. Without recurring to the teſtimony of numerous writers, the reſpectable authority of the Ezour-Vedam will be ſufficient to appeal to. We read in this ancient commentary on the Vedam, that Bramah and Vichnou followed by a long train of Brahmins, went to viſit Chib, (the Lingam) on the mountain of Keillaſſan. They found him in the midſt of his revels, and in the indecent gratification of his ſenſual paſſions. The Brahmins on this diſgraceful ſpectacle loaded him with curſes, and Chib on a recovery from his debauchery died of deſpair. [z] This fable, though refuted by Chumantou in the following chapter, proves notwithſtanding the horror, which the Indians had of ſuch exceſſes, as well as their ſentiments reſpecting the manners of Bollodekan or thoſe of the Baudiſts, which the Eaſtern philoſopher, who is a ſpeaker in the Ezour-Vedam, hath given us. Their king acknowledges no Deity whatever. "His manners correſpond with his religious ſyſtem, and are barbarous to a degree of horror. A human ſkull ſerves him for a cup, and one of his great pleaſures is to be carried on

[y] Lettres. Edifiantes. Tom. 15.--282. The Baron de St. Croix admits however that a commerce with the Europeans appears to have corrupted the other Caſts, and Mr. Hodges was a witneſs to a ſcene of native debauchery, where the European vices had not then been propagated. *See* Travels in India. 93. 4to 1793.

[z] Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 6. C. 4.

on a bed which has ſerved for the dying.[a] Chumantou adds as the laſt trait of infamy, "that his common drink is an intoxicating liquor."[b]

In the deſcription of the luxury of the Oriental courts, and their reſpectful manner of treating the Indian monarchs, Q. Curtius hath been ſtrictly accurate, but in the diviſion of their time he is not equally correct. "Their months[c] contained but fifteen days, notwithſtanding which, their years are complete. They compute their time by the courſe of the moon, but not as moſt people do, when that planet fills its orb; but when it begins to hollow itſelf into horns. This is the cauſe that they, who reckon after this manner, have them much ſhorter than other people."[d]—The Indians have certainly for more than ſeventeen hundred years, and ſince the time of Salivaganam, employed the Solar year,[e] and it is very

 probable

[a] "Ces uſages repondent aſſez bien a ſon ſyſtem de religion, et ont quelque choſe de barbare, qui fait horreur. Le crane d'un homme lui ſert de coupe, il met ſon plaiſir a ſe faire porter ſur un lit, qui a ſervi à un mourant." Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 6. C. 4.

[b] "Sa boiſſon ordinaire eſt une liqueur enivrante." Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 7. C. 2. See alſo Lib. 2. C. 2.

[c] "Menſes in quinos denos deſcripſerunt dies. Anni pleni ſpatia ſervant. Lunæ curſu notant tempora, non ut plerique, quum orbem fidus implevit, ſed quum ſe curvare cœpit in cornuâ. Et idcirco breviores habent menſes, qui ſpatium eorum ad hunc lunæ modum diriguñt." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--633, 634.

[d] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--96.

[e] Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 2. C. 3.—Bayer. Regn. Bact. 164——199.—Leon. Euler. de Indorum anno ſolari aſtronomico ad calcem. Hiſt. Regn. Bact. 201.—&c. &c.

probable the ſyſtem was in uſe in the days of Alexander. This people divide and ſubdivide their time almoſt to infinity. From Poromanou[f] to Ananden there is the immenſe and aſtoniſhing period of one hundred and forty millions of years![g] Twelve months compoſe the Indian year, and each of theſe twelve months is again divided by the new and full moon.[h] Q. Curtius may poſſibly have been led into his error by this diviſion, which at the ſame time proves the antiquity of this mode of calculation.

Arrian hath preſerved in his fragment of Indian hiſtory ſome valuable relics of geography, and indeed there are few of the moderns, whoſe notions reſpecting the interior part of India are ſo correct. "This little work," ſays Monſieur d'Anville, "affords us more information reſpecting the courſe of the rivers of this country than many modern notions."[i] This able geographer does the hiſtorian alſo juſtice, on the ſubject of his detail of Alexander's marches in India, and he frankly avows that he is the author "entitled to the greateſt credit."[k] Throwing a glance over the fourth chapter of his Indian hiſtory, we may perceive at once Arrian's accuracy and preciſion

[f] Bagavadam. Lib. 3.--44.—Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 3. C. 4.

[g] Extr. du Diragala-Sakkarum dans l'Hiſt. du Chriſtian. des Indes. Tom. 2.--287.

[h] Ezour-Vedam. Lib. 2. C. 4.

[i] "Cet opuſcule nous apprend bien des circonſtances plus propres, que les notions actuelles à inſtruire de ce que deviennent les rivieres de cette region entre elles." Geograph. Ancien. Tom. 2.--340.

[k] "Le plus accredité qui ſoit à conſulter à ce ſujet." Geograph. Ancien. Tom. 2.--334.

preciſion relating to the Ganges, the rivers that open into it, and the neighbouring nations. It is with concern, we muſt obſerve, that the ſame accuracy and preciſion are unfortunately wanting, when he mentions the Indus and the rivers which empty their waters into it.

Strabo, diſtinguiſhed alike for his critical abilities and geographical knowledge, hath left us a deſcription of India, that is well adapted to explain the country through which Alexander paſſed with his army. With great judgment he hath adopted the opinions that appeared to be moſt probable, he connects a conciſe account of the expedition of the Macedonian troops with his geographical information, and including an abridged hiſtory of the manners, the cuſtoms and philoſophy of the Indians, he hath moulded the whole into a form, from which his readers may receive both entertainment and improvement. On a compariſon of Ptolemy with this able writer, with Pliny whoſe brevity ſometimes renders him obſcure, and whoſe geographical terms are ſometimes faulty, and in ſhort with the hiſtorians of the life of Alexander, it is impoſſible to reconcile him with theſe different authors, or to draw any juſt idea of the courſe of the rivers of India, or the actual ſituation of places. The Bydaſpes or Hydaſpes, according to Ptolemy, receives ſucceſſively two rivers, the Sandabilis and Adrius or Rhuadis, and afterwards empties itſelf into the Zadradus, which after an union on the right with the Bibaſis, (without doubt the Hyphaſes or Hyphaſis) after a ſhort paſſage opens into

the Indus.[l] *Monſieur* d'Anville judiciouſly obſerves, "that it is not the diverſity of ſome names with which we are diſſatisfied in this deſcription, but the erroneous manner in which theſe rivers are ſaid to flow."[m] Alexander's marches, as related by Strabo and Arrian, furniſh us with more certain information, and their deſcriptions are not inapplicable to the real ſituation of the country.

The Conqueror of Aſia began his march at Alexandria, the modern Candahar, paſſed the Cophena and the Choes and afterwards the Indus, the preſent Sinde,[n] and reduced Taxila. After his conqueſt, he quitted *Taxila* and entered into the country now called Pen-jab, which in the Perſian tongue ſignifies five rivers, and croſſed the Hydaſpes. The banks of this river were celebrated for the defeat of Porus, and the Conqueror then advanced to the Aceſines, and afterwards to the *Hydroates* or Heraotes, and at laſt to the Hyphaſis, as it is termed by Arrian, or the Hypaſis of Pliny and Q. Curtius, and Hypanis of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. It would be at preſent difficult to aſcertain theſe rivers,

[l] Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--170.

[m] "Ce n' eſt pas tant la diverſite de quelques noms qui deplait dans cette expoſition, que le defaut dans la maniere de faire courir ces rivieres les unes par rapport aux autres." Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l' Inde. 36.

[n] "Indus incolis Sindus appellatur, (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 20. Tom. 1.--688.) which is not widely different, the Baron de St. Croix obſerves, from the Send of the Oriental geographers, and the Chindou of the Ezour-Vedam.

rivers,[o] but it is probable that by the Hydaſpes we are to underſtand the Shantrow, by the Aceſines the Ravei or the river that paſſes by Lahour, by the Hydraotes the Biah, and by the Hyphaſes the Caul.[p] In the country of the Choes the difficulty increaſes. Monſieur d'Anville's opinion, on the whole ſeems the only one admiſſible. "We ſee" ſays he, "that the Choes being undoubtedly the river Cow, the Cophus, which we previouſly met with, muſt be the river (Mehram-Hir) which has its ſource near Candahar."[q]

The Choes is called by Strabo the Choaſpes,[r] but it appears to be an error, and the Choes, which is the name given to this river by Arrian,[s] and confirmed with a ſlight alteration by the Coa of Ptolemy,[t] carries the appearance of authenticity. The name of the Choaſpes indeed might occaſion the miſtake, and alſo the confuſion

[o] "Ces fleuves ont recu tant de noms particuliers des modernes qui en ont parlé, qu'on a preſentment de la peine à les diſcerner les uns des autres, et même la plupart de ces noms ſont confondus." Thevenot. Tom. 5.--180.

[p] The Baron de St. Croix here adopts the opinion of Monſieur d'Anville. Major Rennel ſuppoſes the Hydaſpes to be the Behut or Chelum, the Aceſines the Ienaub or Chunaub, the Hydroates the Rauvee, and the Hyphaſis the Settlege or Suttuluz. The reaſons for his opinion may be ſeen in his valuable Memoir of a Map of Hindoſtan.

[q] "On voit que Choes etant indubitablement la riviere nommée Cow, le Cophes qui ſe recontre auparavant doit etre la riviere (Mehram-Hir) qui ſort des environs de Candahar." Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--340.

[r] Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

[s] "Παρα τον Χοην καλεμενον ποταμον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 23.--316.

[t] Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--169.

ſion of the Choes with the Choaſpes of Suſia. Dionyſius the geographer has fallen into the error, when he tells us, that the Choaſpes rolling along its Indian waters waſhes the environs of Suſa.[w] Euſtathius, his commentator, in his explanation of this geographer has added to the error, and pretends that by the Indian waters Dionyſius intended to intimate, that the Choaſpes, which flowed near Suſa, was a branch of the Indus.[x] It might rather have been imagined that the poet, taking Ariſtotle for his guide, who ſpeaks only of the Suſian Choaſpes, though he ſuppoſes it to riſe in the Paropamiſus,[y] prolongs the courſe of this river from the extremities of India as far as Suſia, and only intended by the expreſſion of its Indian waters, to point out its ſource in India. This mode of treating of the ſituation of different rivers and countries was not indeed without example amongſt the Greeks, who have overturned the geography of the univerſe. Strabo relates that Diotimus, one of the chiefs of an Athenian deputation, had paſſed up the Cydnus from Cilicia to the Choaſpes, which conducted him to Suſa.[z] It has been the fate of this river to be the ſubject of many ſuch

w "————————————Χοασπις
Ἑλκων Ινδον ὑδωρ, παρα τε ρειων χθονα Σουσων."
Dionys. Perieg. V. 1074, 1075.

x "Χοασπις Ινδον μεν ὑδωρ, ἑλκων, ὡς εκ του Ινδου σχιζομενου ποταμου, παραρρεων δε καὶ τα Σουσα."
Euſtath. Comm. ad Dionys. Perieg. V. 1075.--132. 4to 1577.

y "Meteor. Lib. 1. C. 13. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 1.--768.

z "Διοτιμον δε τον Στρομβιχου, πρεσβειας Αθηναιων αφηγουμενον, δια του Κυδνου αναπλευσαι εκ της Κιλικιας επι τον Χοασπιν ποταμον, ὁς παρα τα Σουσα ρει, καὶ αφικεσθαι τεσσαρακοσταιον εις Σουσα." Strabo. Lib. 1.--81.

ſuch errors, and Monſieur de l'Iſle is not warranted in his idea of the Choes falling into the Indus and running in a direction, which cannot poſſibly agree with the actual poſition of places. The pretended Choaſpes, as Strabo aſſures us, diſcharges itſelf into the Cophena,[a] and the march of the Macedonian army, as deſcribed by Arrian, fully authenticates the opinion.

At the conflux of the Choes and Cophena we find, according to Monſieur d'Anville, the fabulous city of Nyſa, which he fancies to be the Nagara of Ptolemy, and the Nagar of the Turkiſh geographer, who places this city, from the thirty-two degrees and a half of Latitude which he aſſigns to it, Eaſt of Candahar, and five days journey from Kabal.[b] Monſieur d'Anville appears to have fixed the poſition of Nyſa, from the mountain Merou, which he imagines to be near it, in the thirty-third degree of Latitude. The hiſtorians of Alexander's life and actions have ſpoken of the proximity of the mountain Merou,[c] but inſtead of authorizing their evidence, it proves their ignorance and errors. The mountain Meru or Merou, which is pretended to have been the Meros of the Greeks, is highly celebrated amongſt the Indians. The Bagavadam, one of their eighteen Pouranams or Canonical books, mentions

a "Και τον Χοασπην, ὃς εις τον Κωφην εμβαλλει ποταμον." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

b Eclairciſſement de la Carte de l'Inde. 21, 22.

c "Και το ορος το προς τη πολει, ὁτȣ εν τησιν ὑπωρειησιν ωκισται ἡ Νυσσα, Μηρος κληιζεται." (Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 1.--550.) Situ eſt ſub radicibus montis, quem Merou incolæ appellant." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 10. Tom. 2.--636, 637.

ons it in the following terms. "In the middle of the world there is a great iſland called Iambam or Iambon, of one hundred thouſand Yoſſineys both in length and breadth. A Yoſſiney is a diſtance of four hours' travelling. In the midſt of this iſland is the mountain Merou, which is a hundred thouſand Yoſſineys in height, ten thouſand deep, and thirty-two thouſand wide. To the North of this mountain there are two other mountains, one called Nilavarnam, and the other Velleyvarnam, which form a chain from Eaſt to Weſt as far as the ſalt ocean.[d] The details into which the author

[d] "Il y a au milieu du monde la grande iſle, nommée Iambam ou Iambon, qui a de longueur cent mille Yôſſineis et autant de largueur. Un Yôſſinei eſt une marche de quatre heures en chemin. Au milieu de cette iſle eſt la montagne Merou, haute de cent mille Yôſſineis, profonde de dix mille et large de trente-deux mille. Au nord de cette montagne, il y a deux autres montagnes: l' une nommée Nilavarnam, et l' autre Velleyvarnam, qui *font une chaine de l'* eſt à l'Oueſt juſqu' a la mer ſalée." (Bagavadam. Livr. 5.-93. A manuſcript in the library of Monſieur de Bertin.) The Baron de St. Croix hath introduced in a note the following curious deſcription of the mountain Merou and its environs, from the Bagavadam, which was originally written in the Sanſcreet language, and reduced into French by Maridas Pouli, the principal interpreter at Pondicherry, who dedicated it to Monſieur de Bertin the French Miniſter and Secretary of State. "A l' eſt de Merou, il exiſte une autre montagne nommée Mandaram; au Sud celle nommée *Souvariſvam*, à l' Oueſt une autre nommée Coumoudam; et au Nord celle de Sroungam. Ces quatre montagnes ſont dans une poſition ſi exacte, qu' à les voir il paroîtroit qu' on y avoit placé de grandes colonnes pour y conſtruire une voûte. Leurs elevations ſont à dix milles yôſſineis. Il y a quatre arbres aux ſommets de ces quatre montagnes, leſquels ſe nomment Soûdam, Cadapam, Alam, et Nâval, qui portent des fruits et des fleurs dans tous les temps, dont les rameaux paroiſſent avoir mille yôſſineys d' etendue.

Dans le Merou, il y a quatre etangs, etendus chacun à cent yôſſineys en quarré; un rempli de lait, l'autre de beurre, le troiſieme de taïr (lait caillé) et le dernier de ſuc de canne.

Les quatre montagnes ont chacune un jardin de delices; ces jardins ſont nommés *Nandam*, Saytradam, Raypraſſidam et Sarvalôca-paûtram. Celui qui mange le fruit de Soûdam (*mangue*) de la montagne de Mandoram, acquiert l' immortalité. Le jus de ces fruits *courant* comme un ruiſſeau,

thor of this work enters reſpecting the mountain Merou, are undoubtedly full of fables and puerile tales, and there is no poſſibility of aſcertaining from ſuch traſh its real poſition. The Indian writer adds, "the great mountain Merou is lighted by the ſun during ſix whole months: in the ſix others there is continual night."[e] Soon after we are told, that "one part of the chariot of the ſun reſts on the mountain Merou, and the reſt of it is ſuſpended by the air."[f]

ruiſſeau, forme un fleuve et eſt nommé Roſſôdoram (courant de jus). Le jus des fruits de Nâval, qui eſt ſur la montagne Souvariſvam, produiſant de même un ruiſſeau nommé Jambou, a donné ſon nom à l' île Jambou qu' il arroſe.

Les deux autres arbres produiſent de même deux autres rivieres, qui arroſent le pays d' Ilavroudam.

A l' Eſt, et à l' Oueſt de même de Merou, il y a deux montagnes nommées Gedâ-Coûdam et Pariatram, qui forment une chaîne en longueur de 18,000 yôſſineys, du Nord au Sud. Les Dieux frequentent ces montagnes où ils prennent leurs divertiſſemens.

Au ſommet de Merou, il y a une grande Ville de dix mille yôſſineys en quarré. Cette Ville ſe nommé Brahmapatnam et eſt toute eclatante d' or. A l' entour de cette Ville, il y a huit autres Villes gouvernees par les Dieux des huit points Cardinaux de l' Univers. Un ruiſſeau nommé Brahmânda-Cadam, ſortant du haut du Merou, arroſe la Ville de Brahma, ſort par les quatre portes de cette Ville, et forme quatre fleuves nommés Sadalam, Sadaſſou, Patram, et Alagucy. Un de ces fleuves s' elevant en l' air, lave les pieds de Viſnou. L' autre, qui ſort du côté du Sud, arroſe le pays de Nichetam, Yemacoudam, Ymoſſalam, et ſe jette enſuite dans le pays de Baradam. C' eſt ce fleuve que Sivan prit ſur ſa tête, et delà il a eté nommé Ganga-Taren ou Siven, (celui qui porte ſur ſa tête Ganga.") Bagavadam. Livr. 5.

[e] "La grande montagne Merou eſt eclairee par le ſoleil pendant ſix mois entiers; une nuit continuelle regne les ſix autres." Bagavadam. Livr. 5.--100.

[f] "Le chariot du ſoleil eſt appuyé d' un bout contre le mont Merou, et le reſte eſt ſoutenu par l' air." (Bagavadam. Livr. 5.--102.) Sonnerat adds "Il n' a qu' une roue; ſept chevaux verds le trainent; le Dieu Avounin eſt le conducteur. Les vagaguilliers au nombre de ſoixante mille ſuivent le ſoleil dans ſes douzes loges, en l' adorant et pſalmodiant differens airs à ſa louange." Voyages aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine." Tom. 1.--122. A Work of authenticity and value.

The Ezour-*Vedam*, an ancient commentary of the Vedam, written in the Sanſcreet language and tranſlated by a Brahmin of Benares, fixes the ſituation of the mountain Merou, at the ſource of the Ganges, which riſes in this mountain. The deſcription of it in this Indian book, which ſuppoſes it to be in the centre of the world and of an immenſe height,[g] agrees however even ſtill leſs with the poſition which a modern geographer hath allotted to it. Bayer obſerves, that in the Indian geography entitled Puwana-Saccaram, the mountain Merou is deſcribed in a very fabulous manner,[h] and perhaps its exiſtence has no other foundation than Indian imagination. In a work of Fo or Foe, an ancient Indian legiſlator, which has been tranſlated into the Chineſe language, the extaſies of a Samanian philoſopher are compared to the immobility of the mountain

[g] "Au milieu de la terre, eſt la plus grande de toutes les montagnes, qui s' appelle Merou. C' eſt-là qu'eſt ſitué le pays appelé Zomboudipo, qui eſt le pays de l' Inde: au Midi et au Couchant de la montagne de Merou, ſont ſitués differens pays. En voici les noms, Zombou, Pelokio; Koucho, Chako, Krohonro, Pourkoro, Chalmouli. Tous ces pays, ou toutes ces îles, ſont egalement habites. Il y a pluſieurs fleuves ſur la terre. Les principaux ſont Brommora, Bodra, Ganga ou le Gange: ces trois fleuves prennent leur ſource dans le mont Merou, et vont ſe decharger dans la mer. Le premier coule au Nord et le Gange au Midi. Il traverſe à ſon embouchure et inonde quantitè de bois. J' ai dit que le Zomboudipo ou l' Inde etoit ſitué au Midi de la montagne. &c. &c." (Zend-Aveſta. Livr. 1. C. 3.) "Au milieu de la terre eſt une montagne d' une hauteur prodigieuſe à qui on a donné le nom de Merou. Aux quatre côtés de celle-ci s' elevent quatre autres montagnes; ſavoir, les montagnes Ketouman, Mallioban, Mandaro, Chuparchodo. Il y a pareillement ſur ces quatre montagnes quatre arbres d' une grandeur prodigieuſe; ſavoir, les arbres Ambro, Kodanbo, Zombou, Niogrodo. Au pied de la montagne Mandaro coule un fleuve qui, recevant dans ſes eaux les fleuves qui tombent de l' ambre Zombou, en contracte l' odeur. Tout le pays qu' arroſe ce fleuve eſt appelé Zomboudipo: voilà d' où il a *tiré ſon nom.*" Zend-Aveſta. Livr. 1. C. 6.

[h] "Fabuloſiſſime deſcribitur." Hiſt. Regn. Bact. 4.

mountain Siami, which is the Merou or Smerou [i] under contemplation.

To give ſome credit to the travels of Bacchus, the Greeks ſuppoſed that all the monuments, which they met with, were ſo many veſtiges of the progreſs of this Deity. Stephanus Byzantinus reckons no leſs than ten cities of the name of Nyſa, ſome in Lybia, ſome in Ægypt, others in Greece, Thrace and mount Caucaſus, and the fourth in the liſt is that in India. [k] Heſychius, on the contrary, pretends that Nyſa was a general term applied to many mountains in different parts of the world, [l] and he mentions no leſs than fifteen under this denomination. Ariſtodemus, in his firſt book of Theban inſcriptions, ſpeaking of the expedition of Bacchus into India, takes notice only of the mountain of Nyſa,

[i] Hiſtoire des Huns, par Monſieur de Guignes. Tom. 1. P. 2.--233.

[k] "Etienne de Byſance compte juſqu' a dix villes de Nyſa——————la ſeptieme eſt celle de l'Inde." This is a groſs typographical error, and I have rectified it. "Τεταρτη εν Ινδοις." (Stephan. Byzant. 594. Fol. L. B. 1694.) The ſentence however includes another of greater magnitude, and the Baron de St. Croix hath confounded in a very extraordinary manner the cities, which bore the name of "Νικαια," with thoſe termed "Νυσσα" or "Νυσα," whoſe etymology and derivation were very different. The latter might have a fabulous relation to Dionyſius or Bacchus: the former were founded probably on the ſite of ſome local victories, and Arrian tells us the Nicæa in India, which Stephanus Byzantinus mentions, was built in memory of the defeat of Porus. "Και την μεν, Νικαιαν, της Νικης της κατ' Ινδων επωνυμον ωνομασε." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 19.--379.

[l] "Νυσα ἡ Νυσηιον Ορος· ὁ και καθ' ἑνα τοπον· εστι γαρ Αραβιας, Αιθιοπιας, Αιγυπτου, Βαβυλωνος, Ερυθρας, Θετταλιας, Κιλικιας, Ινδικης, Λιβυης, Λυδης, Μακεδονιας, Παξω περι το Παλληνιον, τοπος Συριας." Heſychius. Tom. 2.--694. Ed. Alberti. 1764.

and Clitarchus confines himſelf to it in the hiſtory of Alexander.[m] Pliny ſpeaks of the mountain of Nyſa[n] and of a city with the name,[o] and it appears by a paſſage of Ariſtotle,[p] that the Greek writers amuſed themſelves with ſketching out deſcriptions of this mountain. Without any attempt at a deciſion whether Nyſa was a city or a mountain, its exiſtence in India is as problematical as even the expedition of Bacchus, of which the Ancients imagined it to be a proof.[q] Arbitrary etymologies can ſcarcely be allowed to be ſufficient to demonſtrate the identity of any of the modern cities with the ancient Nyſa, and even from the number which have equal pretenſions to the honour, it would certainly be multiplied in ſuch a manner as to diſcredit their general claim to the antiquity.

m "Και Κλειταρχος εν ταις περι Αλεξανδρȣ ἱςοριαις· προσιςορων ὁτι ϗ Νυσα ορος εςιν εν Ινδικη." Scholia. ad Apoll. Rhod. V. 907. Lib. 2.

n "In Indiæ vero Nyſa monte." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 8. C. 39. Tom. 2.--201.

o "Nec non et Nyſam urbem plerique Indiæ adſcribunt, montemque Merum, Libero patri ſacrum." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 21. Tom. 1.--691.

p De Mundo. C. 1. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 1.--846.

q "Εςι δε τις θηητος ευρρειτην παρα Γαγγην
Χωρος τιμηεις τε ϗ ἱερος, ὁν ποτε Βακχος
Θυμαινων επατησεν."

Dionys. Perieg. 1153——1155.

"Τον δε χωρον ὁν ὁ Διονυσιος θυμαινων επατησε, θηητον ϗ τιμηεντα καλει, ϗ ἱερον· λεγων ὁτι ὁ τοιȣτος τοπος Νυσσαια ὁδος εκληθη. ἡτις περι τον Γαγγην εςιν, απο της Αρραβικης Νυσσης κληθεισα, αφ' ἡς ϗ αυτος ὁ Διονυσος κληθηναι δοκει· Νυσσα δε, κατα τον γεωγραφον, πολις εν Ινδια, κτισμα Διονυσȣ, ϗ ορος αυτοθι Μερος." Euſtath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 4to Stephan. 1577.—See alſo Apollodorus. Lib. 3. C. 5.—Philoſtrat. Vit. Apollod. Tyan. Lib. 2. C. 9.—Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 10.—Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 2.

antiquity. Abulfeda mentions many cities termed Nyſapaur in Perſia, Baƈtriana and the Khoraſan, and two with the name of Naſa,[r] which differs little from Nyſa, one in Perſia and the other in the Kerman. Far from connecting the etymology of Nyſapour with Dionyſius or Bacchus, ſome learned men have underſtood the word to be derived from the name of ſome of the Eaſtern princes, as in the inſtance of Sapor, a king of Perſia.[s] It ſeems, in ſhort, that we have no more reaſon to mark the preciſe ſituation of Nyſa or the mountain Meros in our modern maps, than that of the celebrated iſland of Panchaia of Euemerus. We may be however ſatisfied that the fables, which have been interwoven in the deſcription of mount Meros, originated from the ſuperſtitious veneration, that many people and particularly the Eaſtern nations, entertained for ſome celebrated mountains. Porra in the kingdom of Arrakan, and Pecha in China, the Isje in Japan, Olaimi in the country of the Apalachites, and a multitude of others acquired a great reputation, and from thence followed the ſpecies of religious veneration with which they were afterwards regarded. The exiſtence of theſe mountains, admitting even the accounts, that have been circulated concerning them, to have been in general fabulous, is neverthelefs certain, though we may not be able, to aſcertain their true poſition and that of the mountain Merou in particular.

Alexander

[r] "Naſa quoque eſt urbs in Perſide, et altera ejuſdem nominis in Karman." Abulfeda, Vers. cit.

[s] Golius in Affer. 188.—Schultens, Ind. Geograph. ad Calcem Vitæ. Salad. Bohadini Nyſabour.

Alexander after the conqueſt of the whole country on this ſide of the Indus, paſſed that river, and arrived at Taxila, and then marched in a direct line to the Hydaſpes. The ſituation of Taxila ought therefore to be South of the actual junction of the Tchenau with the Indus. On the ſuppoſition of its being ſituated on the conflux of theſe two rivers, the Macedonian army in their march to attack Porus muſt have previouſly paſſed the Tchenau, which by no means agrees with the itinerary of Alexander. This Prince having received, as we learn from Arrian a reinforcement of five thouſand Indians under the command of Taxilus, directed his march towards the Hydaſpes and encamped upon its banks. [t] Strabo informs us that Taxila, a powerful city and governed by excellent laws, was between the Indus and the Ganges, [w] but he certainly would not have expreſſed himſelf in this manner, if it had been ſituated at the conflux of the Tchenau and the Indus. Theſe obſervations appear to juſtify the hiſtorians of Alexander's life and actions, though Monſieur d' Anville accuſes them with having miſtaken the Tchenau for the Indus, and from this error with having multiplied the latter river. "From the courſe of Alexander's expedition," ſays the learned geographer, "we may ſuppoſe the Tchenau to be the river, that he paſſed under the name of the Indus, for inſtead of four rivers, we meet with five undoubtedly

[t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 8.--357.

[w] "Μεταξυ δε τε Ινδε, κ) τε Ὑδασπε, Ταξιλα εςι πολις μεγαλη κ) ευνομωτατη." Strabo. Lib. 15. --1022.

doubtedly in the courſe of his expedition."[x] On the contrary there are only four. Alexander marches from Taxila, reaches the Hydaſpes, which he paſſes, and he afterwards croſſes the Aceſines, Hydraotes and Hyphaſis.[y] The Macedonian monarch, agreeable to Strabo, having learnt that the rivers of India formed junctions with each other, directed his march below theſe junctions, to avoid the inconveniency of croſſing the rivers ſo very frequently, and the embarraſſment from his want of boats.[z] When he paſſed therefore the Hydaſpes, he muſt have left the Tchenau to the left.——It might be difficult at preſent to determine what was the Tchenau,[a] as the Ancients have not left us any very clear notions of it, though it ſeems likely to be the Tutape or Toutape, that Arrian ſpeaks of as a conſiderable river, which can only agree with the Tchenau, though he ſuppoſes it to empty itſelf into the Aceſines,[b] whoſe courſe is extended, againſt all probability, to the South of Taxila. Arrian places alſo Peucela at a little diſtance from

[x] "La ſuite de l' expedition d' Alexandre veut que le Tſhenau ſoit la riviere qu' il traverſa ſous le nom d' Indus; car au lieu de quatre fleuves à reconnoitre dans la ſuité de cette expedition, comme on verra ci-apres, il y en auroit indubitablement cinque." Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l' Inde. 34.

[y] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 14.--437.

[z] Strabo. Lib. 15.--1021.

[a] The Tchenau is one of the moſt rapid rivers of Penjab. See Thevenot. Tom. 5.--174, 175. —Voyage de Bernier. Tom. 2.--258, 259.

[b] "Και Τυταπος δε μεγας ποταμος ες τον Ακεσινην εκδιδοι." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 4.--556.

from the Indus,[c] a poſition, which cannot be reconciled even by Monſieur d'Anville[d] to the Tchenau: Peucela is really ſituated on the Indus, which we meet with immediately after the Cophina.[e] Q. Curtius neither poſſeſſes the accuracy nor preciſion, that diſtinguiſh Arrian's geographical details, and whilſt he is obſcure when he ſpeaks of the different people of India and its rivers that throw themſelves into the Indus, he is apt to contradict the hiſtorical part of his work. This Latin hiſtorian aſſures us without reſerve, that the Aceſines augments the waters of the Ganges, which receives it near its embouchure. "The[f] Aceſines ſwells it: the Ganges intercepts this river a little before it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea; at their firſt meeting they daſh furiouſly againſt each other, for the Ganges is very rough where it receives it, and the Aceſines is too violent to give way to the other's reſiſting ſtreams."[g] We are ſoon afterwards informed that the Aceſines becomes confounded

[c] "Και αλλη πολις Πευκελα, ετι μεγαλη και αυτη, ὑ μακραν τε Ινδε." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 1.--550.

[d] Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de la I' Inde. 33, 34.

[e] "Μετα μεν ουν τον Κωφην ὁ Ινδος ρει." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1022.

[f] "Aceſines eum auget. Ganges decurſurum in mare intercipit: magnoque motu amnis uterque conliditur: quippe Ganges aſperum os influenti objicit; nec repercuſſæ aquæ cedunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 9. Tom. 2.--623.) We learn from Arrian that the Aceſines diſcharges itſelf into the Indus. "Ὁ δε Ακεσινης ες Μαλλοις ξυμβαλλει τω Ινδω." (Hiſt. Ind. C. 4.--556.) And Pliny adds his authority to Arrian. "Indus——undeviginti recipit amnes. Sed clariſſimos, Hydaſpem ——Cantabram——Aceſinem et Hyphaſin." Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 20. Tom. 1.--688.

[g] Digby's Q. Curtius, Vol. 2.--92, 93.

founded with the Hydaſpes [h] when they join, and the Macedonian fleet ſuffered exceedingly where theſe two rivers met,[i] but he is again miſtaken, for the Aceſines, called erroneouſly the Tanais [k] by ſome authors, loſes itſelf in the Indus.[l] Juſtin is guilty of an error equally extravagant, when he ſuppoſes Alexander to deſcend by the Aceſines to the Ocean.[m] The anonymous author of Ravenner [n] hath copied this error, though Juſtin indeed ſeems to retract it in the following chapter, where he mentions the arrival of the Macedonian Conqueror at the Ocean, and adds that he happily reached the mouths of the Indus.[o]

[h] "Hydaſpes amnis Aceſini committitur." (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--691.) "Aceſini Hydaſpi confunditur." Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--694.

[i] "Iterque meant navigia, in tenuem alveum cogitur. Itaque quum crebri fluctus ſe inveherent, et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulſarent; ſubducere nautæ cæperunt. Sed miniſteria eorum hinc metu, hinc prærapida celeritate fluminum occupantur. In oculis duo majora omnium navigia ſubmerſa ſunt; leviora quum et ipſa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulſa ſunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 4. Tom. 2.--694, 695.

[k] See Steph. Byzant.

[l] Arrian is particularly circumſtantial. "Αλλα ὁ Ὑδασπης μενες τον Ακεσινην εμβαλλει· εμβαλων δε, το ὡραν ὑδωρ, Ακεσινης παρερχεται καλεμενον· Αυθις δε ὁ Ακεσινης ἐτῳ ξυμβαλλει τω Ὑδραωτη, ϗ παραλαβων τετον, ετι Ακεσινης εϛι. Και τον Ὑφανιν επι τετω ὁ Ακεσινης παραλαβων, τω αυτω δη ονοματι ες τον Ινδον εμβαλλει· ξυμβαλων δε, ξυγχωρει δη τω Ινδω." Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 14.--437.

[m] "Alexander ad Aceſinem amnem pergit: per hunc in Oceanum devehitur." Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 9.--327.

[n] Lib. 2. C. 3.

[o] "Secundo æſtu oſtio fluminis Indi invehitur." Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 10.--331.

Monſieur d'Iſle, inſtead of conducting the Hyphaſis, which is the moſt Eaſtern river of Penjab, into the Aceſines, ſuppoſes it to flow into the Indus, and extends its courſe as far as Patalene, but he has not explained his reaſons for deviating ſo widely from all the hiſtorians who have deſcribed this river. [p] Notwithſtanding the obligations we are under to Monſieur d'Iſle for his labours, which have been ſo very uſeful to a knowledge of the globe, his map of Alexander's empire is undoubtedly imperfect, and the conqueſts of that monarch are very inaccurately ſtated. Arrian, the ableſt and beſt informed guide that could have been conſulted on the ſubject, appears to have been entirely neglected. Monſieur d'Anville hath kept him conſtantly in view, and hath profited from the luminous manner in which the Greek hiſtorian hath treated of this part of the world, which was ravaged by the Conqueror of the Eaſt. After having reduced the elevation of Latitude, given to Cachemir by the Oriental calculations, [q] and having by theſe means allowed a greater extent to the marches of the Macedonian army, Monſieur d'Anville imagines he is able to aſſert, that Alexander reached Cachemir, though he allows, "that in the details of Alexander's marches, we ſee nothing that diſtinguiſhes the actual ſituation of this country." [r] But it ſeems an indiſpenſable

[p] Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l'Inde.

[q] Eclairciſſement ſur la Carte de l'Inde. 27, 28.

[r] "Quoique dans le detail des marches de ce Prince, on ne voit rien qui reſſemble à ce qui diſtingue ce pays par ſa ſituation." Geographe Ancienne. 338. *Eclairciſſement ſur la* Carte de l'Inde. 34.

indiſpenſable rule, in a compariſon of ancient and modern opinions on ſuch ſubjects, and an endeavour to conciliate them, that ſome regard ſhould invariably be had to the inferences, which may be naturally drawn from the ſituations of the places in diſpute. Cachemir ſupplies us with deciſive ones.—Shut up by the ſtupendous mountains, which ſeparate India from Thibet and Great Tartary, it is impoſſible to penetrate into it on any ſide, except by a painful and laborious aſcent in the face of immenſe rocks.[s] Abulfeda relates, that Oguzkhan was ſtopped a whole year at the entrance of theſe mountains,[t] which admitted only three paſſages, attended with ſuch almoſt inſurmountable obſtructions,[w] that they had guaranteed the country againſt the incurſions of many conquerors.[x] If Alexander had penetrated into it, is it to be ſuppoſed that his hiſtorians would have been ſilent on his ſucceſs, and taken no notice of ſuch an important conqueſt?—Monſieur d'Anville acknowledges there is not any thing in Alexander's itinerary,

[s] Notes on Abulgazi. 52.

[t] Hiſt. Gen. des Tatars par Abulgazi-Khan. 53.

[w] Sherefeddin. Hiſt. de Timur-bec. Livr. 4. C. 31. "Il n' y a que trois paſſages tres etroits pour pouvoir paſſer dans ce pays; on appelle ces paſſages Derbend. Celui de Khoraſſan eſt tres difficile et etroit, les bètes chargées n' y peuvent pas paſſer; on eſt obligé de faire tranſporter les marchandiſes ſur le dos des hommes qu' on loue pour cet effet; ce qu' ils font avec beaucoup de peine: le paſſage des Indes eſt de meme qui celui du Khoraſſan. Celui de Thibet eſt à la verité un peu moins difficile que les autres; mais comme à la diſtance de quelque journees ce terrein n' eſt couverte que d' Herbes venimeuſes, cela eſt cauſe que la cavalarie ni les Caravannes ne peuvent pas y paſſer; c' eſt pourquoi ce paſſage n' eſt guere praticable." Geograph. Turc. 404, 405.

[x] Geograph. Turc. 404.

from which we even may ſuppoſe it, but "he is unwilling to believe, that a knowledge of this country, ſo celebrated in India for its beauties was concealed from the Ancients."[y] The ſame reaſons would induce us to believe that China was alſo known to them. "Any ſimilitude in the name," adds Monſieur d'Anville, "is an argument for the probability."[z] But do we find any *ſtriking* reſemblance to juſtify the obſervation between the Caſpira of the Ancients and Cachemir, or rather the Kaſchmir of the Orientals, ſtill called in ſome places, Kichimir? Though the firſt ſyllable indeed has ſome reſemblance in ſound, no certainty ariſes from it that the two words were intended to expreſs the ſame, and the proof, which the learned geographer draws from the poſition of Caſpira, the capital of the country with its name, which Ptolemy places in the centre of India,[a] is equally fallacious.

The *Macedonians, on their* arrival at the mouths of the Indus, firſt became acquainted with the tides, and looked on the flux and reflux of the Ocean with wonder and aſtoniſhment.[b] *A modern* writer,

[y] "Que la connoiſſance de cette contrée, ſi celebre dans l' Inde par ſes agrements, ait eté cachée à l' antiquité." Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--338.

[z] "Un grand rapport de denomination eſt un moyen de convenance." Geograph. Ancienne. Tom. 2.--338.

[a] Ptolem. Lib. 7. C. 1.--171.

[b] "Εντευθα ὁρμισαντων, τω ναυτικω επιγιγνεται της μεγαλης θαλασσης ἡ αμπωτις· ὡστε επι ξηρου απελειφθησαν αυτοις αἱ νηες. Και τουτο ὡ το πρωτερον εγνωκοσι τοις απ' Αλεξανδρου, εκπληξιν μεν ϗ αυτο ὡ σμικραν

writer, diſtinguiſhed both for his ingenuity and paradoxes, hath criticiſed this relation of Alexander's hiſtorians, and remarks that the Macedonian troops could not have been ſurpriſed at the phænomenon, as they had already been ſpectators of it in their paſſage on the coaſt of Ægypt. But the Macedonian troops did not then ſee the Red ſea, and could only have learnt from information, what they afterwards witneſſed on a view of the Ocean in the greateſt magnificence, as the higheſt known tides are thoſe of the gulph of Sinde at the mouths of the Indus, where the ſea retires with uncommon rapidity, and leaves a great tract of ſand uncovered and dry.[c] This effect therefore of the flux and reflux of the Ocean naturally aſtoniſhed the Macedonians, and hath been properly obſerved by their hiſtorians. It was not then ſo very trifling as Le Clerc hath imagined[d] in his criticiſm on Q. Curtius. But the Latin hiſtorian is often cenſured by him, frequently without taſte and with injuſtice, and conſtantly with keenneſs and ſeverity.

Alexander began his march from the mouths of the Indus, to return to Babylon through the country to the Weſt of this river. Plutarch informs us, that after having paſſed through the country of the Orites and Gedroſia, the Conqueror of the Eaſt employed ſeven

σμικραν παρεσχε. πολυ δε δη ετι μειζονα, απο τε διελθουσης της ὡρας προσιοντι τε το ὑδωρ, ϗ τα σκαφη μετεωριζοντο." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 19.--445. 446.) Q. Curtius hath launched as uſual into a luxuriant deſcription. Lib. 9. C. 9. Tom. 2.--730——736.

[c] Varenius. Geograph. C. 14. Propos. 14.

[d] "Huc etiam accedit, quod æſtus in mari Indico exiguus ſit, nec tantos tumultus creare poſſit." Judicium de Curtio. 453.

ſeven days in croſſing Carmania, and then arrived at the capital of Gedroſia. This muſt be an error of the tranſcriber, and we ſhould read Carmania with Dacier, which is a more natural correction than one ſuggeſted by Moſes of Chorene,[e] and agrees with the accounts of the other hiſtorians, and Arrian[f] and Strabo[g] in particular. The text of Plutarch will then only preſent the extraordinary tranſpoſition of Gedroſia to the Weſt of Carmania.

OF THE NAVIGATION OF NEARCHUS.

The expedition of Nearchus forms a period of ſome conſideration in the hiſtory of the navigation of the Ancients, and has a claim to particular inveſtigation.——Nearchus was the ſon of Adrotimus, a native of Crete,[h] and one of the ableſt of the Macedonian officers. Before Alexander's acceſſion to the throne, Nearchus and the young Prince had been intimately connected, and Philip had even ordered Nearchus into exile for his attachment

[e] "Εκ της Γεδροσιας." Not. in Plutarch.

[f] "Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 22.--452.

[g] Strabo. Lib. 15.--1051——1053.

[h] Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 18.--587.

ment to his Son, at which he took offence. Alexander confided to him the command of his fleet, which was to paſs from the mouths of the Indus to the Euphrates, and the choice which he made, was highly pleaſing to all who were to have a ſhare in the expedition.[i] Amongſt the adventurers there were Phœnicians, Cypriots, people from the Helleſpont, and Ionians, and they ſaw with ſatisfaction Nearchus at the head of the enterpriſe, of which he hath given a circumſtantial relation in his journal: Arrian hath preſerved it. Pliny after mentioning that the journal of Nearchus and Oneſicritus neither ſupplied him with the names or diſtances of places,[k] attempts to give us an abridged itinerary, with the names of places and their diſtances reduced into Roman miles, but it hath not any reſemblance with that which Arrian deſcribes. The difference is too remarkable to ſuppoſe it to be owing to the ignorance of tranſcribers.

From what Pliny hath told us, it evidently appears that he had not read either the journal of Nearchus or that of Oneſicritus, and in all likelihood he had ſimply conſulted the production of Juba, which was only a compilation from Oneſicritus. A compariſon of it with the journals of Nearchus will at once prove the difference

[i] Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 20.--591.

[k] "Indicare convenit, quæ prodit Oneſicritus, claſſe Alexandri circumvectus in Mediterranea Perſidis ex India, narrata proxime a Juba: dein eam navigationem, quæ ex his annis comperta ſervatur hodie. Oneſicriti et Nearchi navigatio nec nomina habet manſionum, nec ſpatia." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 23. Tom. 1.--700.

difference of the two works. Organa is the ſingle word, which hath not ſuffered alteration, and been varied by Oneſicritus or Juba: the foundation of a city, whoſe name is not known and that of Xilonopolis, of which Oneſicritus ſpeaks, are ſuppreſſed by Nearchus.

Pliny confounds the ſituation of many countries: the Orites are placed before the Arbians,[l] and immediately after Carmania. But the Arbians were in fact ſituated to the Weſt of the Indus, and had the Orites on their borders, who had Gedroſia to the Weſt, bounded by the vaſt deſerts of Carmania. Oneſicritus, from a jealouſy of Nearchus, endeavoured to appropriate to himſelf the diſcoveries of this Admiral, and made a point of contradicting him. To this ſource may be traced the variance in his relations, which have been inconſiderately adopted both by Juba and by Pliny.

Strabo, according to Monſieur Huet, "treats the works of Nearchus and Oneſicritus as fictions, though he admits, that ſome truth is blended with their fables."[m] Undoubtedly the Greek geographer claſſes Nearchus with thoſe writers, that have circulated falſities reſpecting India, but he was not the principal object of the obſervation, and the cenſure was more particularly applicable

[l] "Oritas ab Indis Arbis fluvius diſterminat." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 7. C. 2. Tom. 2.--14.

[m] "Strabon traite ces ouvrages de fiction; quoique il ne nie point qu'ils ſoient *meles* de quelque verité." Hiſt. du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens. 349.

cable to Megaſthenes and Daimachus. [n] When he ſpeaks more circumſtantially of the journal of Nearchus, it is without any reflection on the authenticity of the work, and ſome exaggerations of the facts and hyperbolical expreſſions were principally criticiſed. Theſe are the common foibles of travellers in general, who ſometimes ſuffer ſeverely in their expeditions, and are often accuſtomed to magnify objects, from their fears and apprehenſions, beyond the juſt proportion of the real dangers, which they were expoſed to. [o] The learned Huet in another part, of his work, does however juſtice to Nearchus and his journal, when he aſſures us the memoirs of his expedition were both "uſeful in commerce and in war. [p]

Dodwell, in his diſſertation on the journal of Nearchus by Arrian, obſerves that Pliny might have borrowed what he relates, reſpecting the navigation of Nearchus and Oneſicritus, from thoſe authors as well as from Juba's extract out of the work of Oneſicri-

[n] "Διαφερονταις δ' απιστειν αξιον Δημαχω τε καὶ Μεγασθενει." (Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.) Yet he had before expreſſed more than doubts of the writers in general on India, and Nearchus comes in for a ſhare of the cenſure. "Απαντες μεν τοινυν οἱ περι της Ινδικης γραψαντες, ὡς επι το πολυ ψευδολογοι γεγονασι, καθ' ὑπερβολην δε Δημαχος· τα δε δευτερα λεγει Μεγασθενης, Ονησικριτος τε καὶ Νεαρχος, καὶ αλλοι τοιουτοι παραψελλιζοντες ηδη." Strabo. Lib. 2.--121.

[o] "Ou la crainte plutot que le peril groſſit les objects, et qui par cette raiſon doivent ſelon Strabon meriter notre indulgence." I find no traces of the indulgence, which Strabo is ſuppoſed to beſpeak for theſe writers. "Εικος μεν ουν περος ὑπερβολην ηδολεσχηκεναι πολλα τους πλευσαντας· ὁμως δ' εν οις εφηκασι παραδηλουντες αμα καὶ το παρασαν αυτοις παθος, διοτι προσδοκια μαλλον η κινδυνος ὑπηρχε τοις ακηκοσι." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1055.

[p] "Utiles pour la guerre et le commerce." Hiſt. dû Comm. et de la Navig. des Anciens. 53.

tus, [q] but his criticiſm on the authority of the journal of Nearchus preſerved by Arrian appears to be bold as well as exceptionable. It may be proper to examine the evidence that he produces and to comment on it.

I. Neither the city of Arbis, the rivers Nabrus, Hytanis, nor in ſhort the port of Argenus or Argenis, mentioned by Oneſicritus, are to be found in Arrian, who hath added the diſtances that he ſpecifies, from the extract of Pliny.

If however, Oneſicritus, or rather Juba hath corrupted the names of places and hath even interwoven ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances, the journal of Nearchus is not impeachable on account of their imperfections or miſtakes. The truth amidſt contradictory aſſertions is eaſily diſcoverable on the examination of other evidence, and all the works of the cotemporary authors having periſhed, the preſent ſituation of places and the affinity between their ancient and modern names are what muſt be reſorted to. Monſieur d'Anville hath inconteſtably proved the reſult is in favour of Nearchus. If the diſtances in Arrian do not correſpond

[q] "Dodwel obſerve judicieuſement que Pline n'a tiré tout ce qu'il rapporte de la navigation de Nearque et d'Oneſicrite que de l'extrait que Juba avoit fait de l'ouvrage de ce dernier." Dodwell appears to think very differently. "Erant enim ſane, præterea ea quæ retulerat ex Nearcho et Oneſicrito Juba, et aliæ quoque ſeparatæ utriuſque auctoris editiones, etiam ætate Plinii. Hoc inde colligo, quod in auctorum catalogis, e quibus libros operis ſui ſingulos collegit Plinius, occurrit, præter Jubam, ſeorſim mentio tam Nearchi quam etiam Oneſicriti. Quod ſane non fuiſſet neceſſe, ſi, quæ de utroque habet Plinius, ea omnia ex ſolo hauſiſſet Juba." De Arrian. Nearcho apud Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Vol. 1.--132. 8vo Oxon. 1698.

correſpond with thoſe in Pliny, they certainly were not taken from the Roman Naturaliſt.

II. It is univerſally allowed that Nearchus and Oneſicritus marked their tract by the number of days, which were afterwards reduced into ſtadia: Juba again reduced them into miles in conformity to the Roman meaſure.—They gave the relation this ſemblance of exactneſs to impoſe upon the world. Dodwell ſtrengthens the opinion by the authority of Marcian of Heraclea. "Many authors have written in haſte with the intention of impoſing on their readers, and affected to relate the names of places in nations that are totally unknown, and to aſcertain their diſtance from each other in ſtadia, but Antiphanes of Bergœa hath ſurpaſſed them all in impoſture. Thoſe, on the contrary, who acquired a real knowledge of places and the dimenſions of the different ſeas with the ports and cities and their reſpective diſtances have compoſed particular deſcriptive journals, and appear to have compiled them with fidelity." [r]———Nearchus is not mentioned in this paſſage of Marcian, but the concluding ſentence may be properly applied to him, and he may be truly claſſed with the geographers, whoſe accuracy is taken notice of.

[r] "Οι δε τȣς περιπλȣς προχειρεως γραψαντες, ϗ τȣς εντυγχανοντας πειθειν εθελοντας τοπων τε προσηγοριας ϗ ϛαδιων αριθμον διεξιοντες, ϗ ταυτα επιχωριων η εθνων βαρβαρων, ὡν ȣδε τας προσηγοριας ειπειν δυναιτο αν τις, αυτον μοι δοκȣσι τον Βεργαιον Αντιφανη νενικηκεναι τω ψευδει· ὁσοι μεν γαρ μερικας τινας εποιησατο περιπλων διηγησεις· ὡν ϗ τα χωρια σαφως εγινωσκον, ϗ την αναμετρησιν της θαλαττης ȣκ ηγνο-

ȣν,

III. The journal of Nearchus was unknown to Agatharcides and Eratoſthenes, who had the immenſe library of Alexandria before their eyes. This work ought therefore to be conſidered as fictitious. [s]————If even this negative argument hath any force, it remains to be aſked from whence this information is derived. Are we peremptorily to decide at once from the ſhort extract of Agatharcides on the Erythrean ſea, which Photius hath left us, and what remains of his Aſiatic hiſtory [t] preſerved by Athenæus, or from a few mutilated fragments of Eratoſthenes, that theſe authors had never heard of the Periplus of Nearchus?

IV. In the ages immediately after Alexander, the Indus was believed to join the Nile; [w] if therefore the journal of Nearchus had then exiſted, this error could not have been adopted. [x]————*Under* the ſame mode of reaſoning, it may be *inſiſted*, that the works of *Herodotus*, *Ariſtotle* and *Diodorus* Siculus are ſuppoſitions, as we learn from them, that the Caſpian ſea has no communication with the neighbouring ſeas, which *though* erroneous was an opinion,

ων, ἢ πολεις ἢ λιμενας, ἢ τα διαστηματα τουτων καταμαθοντες· ἑτοι δοκησιν η πανταπασιν πλειστα μετα της ενδεχομενης αληθειας εγγεγραφεναι." Marciani Heracleotæ Periplus. 63. Apud Geograph. Vet. Script. Minor. Tom. 1.

[s] Dodwell de Arriani Nearcho. Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. Tom. 1. Differt. 6. Sect. 7.

[t] Photii Biblioth. 1322. See alſo 546, 547.

[w] The Baron de St. Croix remarks that Arrian borrowed what he ſays of the Nile, in the ſixth chapter of his Indian Hiſtory, from Megaſthenes, and that the journal of Nearchus only commences at the twenty-firſt chapter, and from this circumſtance the argument cannot poſſibly apply.

[x] Dodwell de Arriani Nearcho. Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. Tom. 1. *Differt.* 8.

opinion, adopted in later times.—Truth creeps ſlowly forward into approbation and eſteem, whilſt even errors ſupported by ancient prejudices and ſometimes by vanity, preſerve their influence for years.

V. The Periplus of Nearchus was probably fabricated under the reigns of the laſt Ptolemies, as Antiphanes of Bergæum, Antonius Diogenes, and Euemerus of Meſſina, publiſhed about this period many fabulous relations. [y]

Such an argument has little ſtrength, and it may be difficult to point out any relation whatever between the Periplus of Nearchus and the ſacred hiſtory of Euemerus.

From a want of evidence, Arrian is overwhelmed with injurious epithets, and the Jeſuit Harduin hath treated him with as little civility. [z] Yet their joint efforts cannot depreciate the authenticity and merit of a work, which carries internally the powerful impreſſion of fidelity, and proves in every circumſtance the accuracy of its author. There is a minute exactneſs, which is a ſort of deciſive depoſition in favour of authentic journals, that is not to be found in the romantic and fictitious tales of imaginary adventures. The Periplus of Nearchus may be tried

[y] Dodwell de Arriani Nearcho. Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Diſſert. 6.--139, 140.

[z] "Hominis mirare in mendaciis confingendis audaciam." Not. in Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Tom. 1.

tried by this criterion, and the whole of it, from the departure of the Macedonian fleet when it quitted the iſland of Sangada to its arrival at the mouth of the river Arabis or Arabius, is ſo very circumſtantial as to leave its authenticity unqueſtionable.

"When the wind was abated, they again put to ſea, and having ſailed about ſixty ſtadia further, came to a ſandy coaſt, before which was a certain deſolate iſland named Domas; which, by its ſituation, formed a haven, but as the water upon the coaſt was all brackiſh, they travelled about twenty ſtadia up a level country, where they found water ſweet and pleaſant; and ſailing all the next day, in the evening they came to a country called Saranga, about three hundred ſtadia from their former ſtation, where they went on ſhore, and found good water, about eight ſtadia from their landing-place. Thence, they renewed their voyage and arrived at Sacala, a country wholly uninhabited; whence, they paſſed between two rocks, ſo near each other, that the blades of their oars touched them on both ſides at once. When they had ſailed three hundred ſtadia, they came to Morontobara, where is a large, ſpacious, ſafe and commodious haven; but the entrance into it is narrow and rocky: this the natives called the Women's Haven, from a certain woman, who firſt reigned in that place. Having paſſed the rocks with ſome difficulty, they came into the open ſea again, and continuing their voyage left a certain iſland on their left hand, which is ſo near joining to the main land, that the channel, which ſeparates them, ſeems to have been cut through.

That

That day they ſailed about ſeventy ſtadia. The ſhore, all along the Continent, was full of thick woods, and the iſland oppoſite thereto, was alſo woody. About break of day they departed thence, and paſſed through the above-mentioned channel, by the help of the Tide, and after a courſe of one hundred and twenty ſtadia, arrived at the mouth of the river Arabius, where they found a large and ſafe harbour, but no freſh water, becauſe the Tide flows a great way up the river, and makes it brackiſh; wherefore, paſſing about forty ſtadia up the river, they came to a lake, the water of which being ſweet, they took what they wanted, and returned. The iſland, oppoſite to this haven, is high land, and uncultivated, but round it are vaſt quantities of oyſters, and all kinds of fiſh, which makes it to be frequented by fiſhermen. Thus far the country of the Arabii extends itſelf, being the laſt part of India, that way, for the Oritæ inhabit the other ſide of the river."[a]

Nearchus deſcribes with the ſame minuteneſs his navigation from the mouths of the Indus to that of the Euphrates where his voyage ended. If he did not enter into the ſame details reſpecting the coaſt of Suſia, the modern Khoſiſtan, it aroſe from the difficulty of approaching the land with ſafety on account of the ſhoals and ſhallows.[b] Pietro della Valle tells us that he ſailed at ſome diſtance from this track, and found a ſhoal with four fathom water,

[a] Rooke's Arrian. Vol. 2. C. 22.--245.

[b] "Την χωρην τε γαρ τεναγωδεα τε ειναι την πολλην, ϗ ῥηχιησιν επι μεγα ες τον ποντον εσεχουσαν ϗ ταυτην σφαλερην εγκαθορμιζεσθαι πελαγιοισιν, ὡν σφισι την κομιδην το πολυ γινεσθαι." Arrian. Hiſt. Indic. C. 41.--631.

ter, which ſtretched to a conſiderable extent: the Perſians term this part of the Perſian gulph Meidan, and the land is ſo low that it is not viſible but at a very little diſtance. [c] On the plan of Monſieur d'Anville, and with the advantage of his reſearches, a great reſemblance is perceptible between the ancient deſcription of the different places mentioned in the journal of Nearchus, and their preſent appearances. This able geographer hath proved to demonſtration the accuracy of Nearchus from a compariſon of all the Oriental and European memoirs that treat of the ſeveral places, which the Macedonian fleet touched at, when they ranged along the coaſts of Carmania, Perſia, and Suſia. Monſieur d'Anville's memoirs on the Perſian gulph will not admit of being analyſed: and his opinion of the journal of Nearchus ſhall be only cited. "Circumſtances, which apply to the preciſe ſituation of places, and the reſemblance of ancient names with thoſe, that ſtill ſubſiſt, and are not to be elſewhere met with, do not admit of a ſuſpicion of fraud or fiction, and there are few ancient geographical memoirs, which will ſo well ſtand the teſt of a compariſon with even the real knowledge of them." [d]

Yet it would be in vain to diſſemble that Nearchus hath intermingled ſome fables in his journal. Amidſt their number, the ſtories

[c] Memoire de Monſieur d'Anville. Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 30.--168.

[d] "L'application des circonſtances qu'il renferme au local actuel, le rapport que des denominations de lieux qui ne ſe rencontrent point ailleurs, ont avec celles qui ſubſiſtent, ne ſouffrent aucun ſoupçon de ſuppoſition; et il y a peu d'autres memoires geographiques de l'antiquite, qui

ries of men, who cut up fiſh and wood with their nails;[e] who built and covered their houſes with the larger bones of whales, and employed the leſs in the formation of their domeſtic utenſils,[f] and alſo that of the iſland of Noſala, inhabited by one of the Nereids,[g] are to the laſt degree exceptionable. Theſe fables, however, ought not to affect the work itſelf, and ſhould be conſidered rather as poetical and imaginary epiſodes, correſponding with the Grecian taſte, which was always more partial to the charms of fictitious ſcenery, than the chaſter compoſitions of rigid truth.

The Macedonian fleet ſailed, according to Arrian, on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, in the eleventh year of Alexander's reign, when Cephiſodorus was Archon at Athens,[h] whoſe magiſtracy is notwithſtanding fixed by Diodorus Siculus, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, and by moſt of the chronologiſts in the year after Alexander's death. It ſeems then a miſtake, and Arrian ought to have related this voyage under the Archonſhip of Anti-

qui ſoutiennent mieux la compariſon avec une connoiſſance poſitive du local." Recherches Geograph. ſur le Golfe Perſique. Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 30.--133.

e "Τοις γαρ δη ονυξιν ὁσα σιδηρω διαχρασθαι ελεγοντο, καὶ τες ιχθυας τετοισι παραπασχιζοντες κατεργαζεσθαι, καὶ των ξυλων ὁσα μαλακωτερα." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 24.--600.

f "Χρησθαι δε τοισιν ανθρωποισιν ες τα οικια· ειναι ὡν τα μεν εν τησι πλευρησιν αυτων οστεα, δοκους τοισιν οικημασιν ὁσα μεγαλα· τα δε μικροτερα, σφονδυλους." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 30.--612.

g "L' habitation des Nereides." "Οικησαι την νησον ταυτην μιαν των Νηρηιδων." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 31.--613.

h Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 21.--592.

cles, the fourth year of the one hundred and thirteenth Olympiad, and three hundred and twenty-five years before Chriſt, which will be the eleventh year of Alexander's reign. Corſini hath given a very ſatisfactory ſolution of this difficulty, and ſuppoſes Cephiſodorus to have ſucceeded Anticles, who might have died, or been diſplaced during his year of office, [i] and the neceſſity of this correction is evident from the manuſcripts in the late French King's library, which concur in the expreſſion of Cephiſodorus.—It is alſo an eſtabliſhed fact, that Nearchus finiſhed his naval expedition before the death of Alexander.

Pliny informs us that Nearchus was employed ſeven months in his expedition, and was three months at ſea. [k] Many reaſons may be conceived to have occaſioned the length of time taken up in this voyage. The conſtruction of the veſſels of the Ancients, which were in general ſmall, and of much leſs dimenſions than thoſe of our days, rendered them incapable of weathering any heavy ſeas or violent gales, and as they had fewer ſails, they conſequently made leſs way. [l] They rarely alſo ventured out of the ſight of land, but coaſted regularly, and this mode of navigation muſt

[i] Corſini. Faſt. Attic. Diſſert. 9. Tom. 2.--30, 31. Tom. 4.--52.

[k] "Alexandrum invenerunt ſeptimo menſe, poſtquam digreſſus ab iis fuerat Patulis, tertio navigationis. Sic Alexandri claſſis navigavit." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 23. Tom. 1.--703.

[l] We learn from Marcianus of Heraclea it was a received opinion, that a veſſel might run ſeven hundred and ſometimes even nine hundred ſtadia in a day, with a favourable wind, though others did not exceed five hundred. "Ὁμολογημενον γαρ τουθ' ὁτι ἑπτακοσιους ἐνιοτε δρομους ναυς ἠ μι-

muſt have been very tedious. The Macedonian fleet, it muſt be recollected likewiſe, had to paſs through unknown ſeas, and without proper pilots they could not venture to purſue their track in the night and in the dark. Theſe were great impediments, and the progreſs of the voyage was retarded by the contrary winds, which they had to encounter in their paſſage.

Monteſquieu ſuppoſes that the Macedonian fleet had to ſtruggle with the Monſoons, and that it ſailed in July, [m] a ſeaſon when no European veſſel in our days would quit a port in India on a return to Europe. This great writer appears, however, to be miſtaken. Nearchus only ſailed in September, which anſwers to the Boedromion of the Attic year, and agreeable to Pliny's calculation, he completed his voyage early in the month Munychion, which is our April. During this time it is certain that the ſtorms, which attend the Monſoon are not felt on this ſide cape Commo-

 rin,

ας ανυει της ἡμερας, ἑυροι τις αν ϗ εννακοσιους διαδραμουσαν ναυν εκ της των κατασκευασαντος τεχνης το ταχος προσλαβουσαν, ϗ ἑτεραν μολις πεντακοσιους δεικνυσασαν, δια την εναντιαν της τεχνης αιτιαν." Mars. Heracl. Peripl. apud Geog. Veter. Script. Græc. Min. Tom. 1.--67.) The Baron de St. Croix taking the ſtadium at one hundred Toiſes reckons a veſſel of the Ancients might with a favourable wind have made a paſſage from twenty-three marine leagues and a fraction to thirty in a day, and with a contrary wind, computes it at ſixteen.

[m] "La flotte d' Alexandre mit ſept mois pour aller de Patale a Suze. Elle partit dans le mois de Juillet, c' eſt à dire, dans un temps ou aujourdhui aucun navire n' oſe ſe mettre en mer pour revenir des Indes. Entre l' une et l' autre mouçon, il y a un intervalle de temps pendant lequel les vents varient; et où un vent de hord, ſe melant avec les vents ordinaires, cauſe, ſurtout aupres de côtes, d' horribles tempetes. Ce la dure les mois de Juin et Juillet, et d' Aout. La flotte d' Alexandre, partant de Patale au mois de Juillet, eſſuya bien des tempêtes, et le voyage fut long, parcequ' elle navigea dans un mouçon contraire." Monteſquieu, de l' Eſprit des Loix, Lib. 21. C. 9. Tom. 1,--490, 491.

rin, and are confined to the months of May, June, July, and Auguſt.

The evidence of Arrian is very peremptory on the departure of the fleet. "As ſoon therefore as the Eteſian or anniverſary winds ceaſed, (which on theſe coaſts blow from the ſea towards the land the whole ſummer, and thereby render navigation impracticable during that time) they begun their voyage on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, the eleventh year of Alexander's reign according to the Macedonian and Aſiatic computation, when Cephiſodorus was Archon of Athens." [n]

But perhaps it may be objected, that if the Monſoon was not contrary, no other winds could have in ſuch a manner retarded their courſe. On the coaſts, however, of Guzarat and in general on all thoſe of India upon this ſide the mountains of Gate, the winds blow almoſt conſtantly out of a Southerly quarter from September to March, and from the coaſts of Africa towards India, they regularly decline towards the Weſt in proportion as Aſia is approached. [o] The winds were therefore very foul for the Macedonian fleet, whoſe courſe lay from Eaſt to Weſt, and it is a known principle that the velocity of the air, is increaſed like a current of water, when its channel is narrowed. Nearchus, from this

[n] Rooke's Arrian. Vol. 2.--243. "Ως δα τα Ετησια πνευματα εκοιμηθη (ά δη τȣ θερεος την ώρην πασαν κατεχει εκ τȣ πελαγεος επιπνεοντα επι την γην, ϗ ταυτη απορον τον πλȣν ποιεοντα) τοτε δη ώρμηντο, επι αρχοντος Αθηνησι Κηφισοδορȣ, εικαδι τȣ βοηδρομιωνος μηνος, καθοτι Αθηναιοι αγȣσιν· ώς δε Μακεδονες τε ϗ Ασιανοι ηγον, το ένδεκατον βασιλευοντος Αλεξανδρȣ." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 21.--592.

[o] Varen. Geog. C. 21. Propos. 3. See alſo Dr. Halley. Eſſay. Philoſoph. Tranſact. 1735.

this laſt circumſtance, on his arrival at the mouth of the Perſian gulph, muſt have found great difficulty, and been much diſtreſſed in doubling cape Bendis, now known under the name of Jaſk. His track muſt have then been between the North and Weſt,[p] and the Eaſt and South-Eaſt winds muſt have carried him at a great rate towards the land. Oneſicritus here wiſhed to terminate the voyage, but the courage and good conduct of Nearchus ſurmounted every difficulty and danger. Having repaired his fleet on the banks of the river Anamis,[q] at ſome diſtance on this ſide the Iſland Ogyris now Ormus, he continued his courſe, notwithſtanding the contrary and unfavourable winds to which he was expoſed, and put into the river Sitaco,[r] the modern Sita-Rhegian, where he employed twenty-one days in caulking and refitting his ſquadron.

When the winds ſhift in theſe ſeas from North to South and the collateral points, there are many days, and ſometimes months of continual calm and tempeſts, and it was from theſe cauſes that Nearchus was detained. This officer having mentioned in his journal ſome ſtorm or other, Arrian moſt probably confounded this accidental gale from the South with the contrary Monſoon or Eteſian winds. The currents produced by the Weſt and South-Weſt winds, which ſet directly againſt the Macedonian fleet,

[p] "Ενθενδε δε ὡσαυτως ȣκετι προς ἡλιȣ δυομενȣ επλεον· αλλα το μεταξυ δυσιος τε ἡλιȣ ϗ της αρκτȣ ȣ̓τω μαλλον τι ἀι πρωραι αυτοισιν επειχον." Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 32.--614.

[q] Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 33.--616.

[r] ———————— C. 38.--627.

fleet, were not therefore the leaſt of the impediments that Nearchus had to combat.

The Jeſuit Petau [s] dates the navigation of Nearchus in the magiſtracy of Chremes, three hundred and twenty-ſeven years before Chriſt, and in the year when Porus was defeated. But the authority of Diodorus Siculus, which the learned chronologiſt followed too implicitly, hath led him into ſome miſtakes. The Greek hiſtorian compreſſes into the Archonſhip of Chremes [t] a croud of events, which could not poſſibly have happened in ſuch a ſhort ſpace of time, and he alſo mentions two other Archons, Anticles, and Soſicles, before the year of Alexander's death. Corſini [w] judiciouſly obſerves that the name of Soſicles ſhould be effaced, or conſidered as the name of an Archon ſubſtituted in the ſame year for Anticles, and the conjecture ſeems in ſome meaſure authorized by the text itſelf as well as Diodorus Siculus, who brings the magiſtracy of Anticles and alſo that of Soſicles under the Conſulſhip of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Popilius.— [x] Diodorus Siculus does not mention any remarkable event during the magiſtracy of theſe two Archons, and ſeems to have referred them all to that of Chremes, in which he fixes the defeat of Porus, that was previous to this Archon, and ought to be dated in the magiſtracy of Hegemon, whoſe name in all probability might have been found

[s] Doctrin. Temp. Livr. 13.--597, 598.

[t] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--229——246.

[w] Corſini. Faſt. Attic. Differt. 9. Tom. 2.--31——33. Tom. 4.--49.

[x] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--248.—Corſini. Faſt. Attic. Tom. 2. Differt. 22, 23.

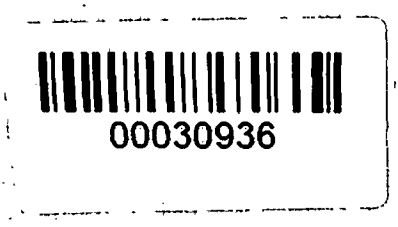
found in the part of the ſeventeenth book of this hiſtorian which is wanting.—The ſeries of later events, and the formal evidence of Arrian leave little doubt of this period.

Hegemon undoubtedly preceded Chremes in the Attic annals, and the navigation of Nearchus ought then to be reckoned in the laſt year of Alexander's reign, under the Archonſhip of Anticles or rather Cephiſodorus his ſubſtitute, and this Archonſhip included both the events marked by Diodorus Siculus in the magiſtracy of Soſicles, and a part of thoſe in that of Chremes. It appears alſo that the Greek hiſtorian enumerated under Soſicles ſome events, ſuch as the defeat of the Coſſæans, [y] and the entry of Alexander [z] into Babylon, which could only have happened in the firſt eleven months of the year in which Alexander died, when Hegeſias was Archon. Diodorus Siculus hath in this manner overturned the entire chronology of the laſt years of this Prince's reign, and deſcending to objects of inferior magnitude, his miſtakes, as to the time of the navigation of Nearchus, hath been occaſioned by his erroneous arrangement of the events which preceded it.

[y] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—248.—Uſſerii Annal. 206, 207.

[z] ——— Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—248.

THE END.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